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POLITICS
FOR
AMERICAN FARMERS;
BEING
A SERIES OF TRACTS,
EXHIBITING THE
BLESSINGS OF FREE GOVERNMENT,
AS IT IS
ADMINISTERED IN THE UNITED STATES,
COMPARED WITH
THE BOASTED STUPENDOUS FABRIC
OF
British Monarchy.

William Duane

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POLITICS FOR FARMERS.

No. I.

YOU hear every day of men crying out for war—for navies—for extravagant expenditures of money—for alliances with one power, and for hostility against another power—and it is difficult sometimes to account for these strange fantasies.

There are certain *truths*, however, which the humblest man in point of information in the whole country can discover, and there are certain plain inferences to be drawn from the obvious facts, upon which no two men can honestly differ.

No man will deny that peace and the security and happiness which it produces in a free government is the most desirable state of human society: no man will deny, that America owes to her pacific policy, that prosperity which has rendered her the envy of the world, and to which the unfortunate of the old world look for a safe refuge: *no man will deny*, that a pacific policy is that of all others inculcated by religion, and that nothing can be so foreign and destructive of religion and virtue as war and its concomitants.

A nation then must be opposed by some overwhelming necessity, some irresistible evil not to be avoided or guarded against, if it can be at all justifiable in deviating from the principles which ensure happiness—which are the causes of prosperity—which are the fundamental principles of religion.

Nothing but the obvious imminent danger of this happiness, and all the coincident blessings, can at any time justify a deviation from the system which produces so much good.

These, we repeat it, are truths which no man can deny.

Yet how are we to account for it, that every day you hear men crying out for war—for military navies—for armies—for extravagant establishments and expenditures—all incompatible with our *policy*, our *peace*, and our *morals*?

Why is it that men who affect to be the most violent sticklers for *religion*, are also the most vociferous declaimers for this anti-religious policy?

Can any man say, that there is either piety, charity, virtue, or religion in such conduct?

But then people are at a loss to account for it—no doubt; men innocent of the world and unacquainted with the depravity which is produced by the lust of inordinate wealth—cannot be expected to account for contradictions so gross and preposterous among rational and free minds.

But if the plain man will look a little into facts, as they are plainly laid before him, he will no longer be at a loss to account for such extraordinary proofs of human folly and vice.

The *United States* are affected not by any evil cause originating within themselves, but by external causes acting on the people.

The nations of Europe have in a manner realized the fable of the *Salamander*,—they have *lived in fire* for several centuries; no sooner had one corner cooled, but the fire of war broke out in some other; and this has been their miserable fate for ages.

A system of government like ours has never before existed. At no period of time has there been a government before our own, in which the interests or the wishes of those who are affected most by war had the least influence or effect.

The warlike cries, and the rage for mad systems, do not proceed from the *people of the United States*, from those whose interests and wishes are inseparable from peace and virtue; those ravings proceed from external impressions, and disease produced by those impressions here; and the causes are various.

Foreign governments, whose institutions and interests are dissimilar from ours—*envy us, and endeavor to disturb our repose.*

Nations whose policy is a combination of commercial monopoly and war, to maintain that monopoly, look upon the United States as other sects look upon the *Quakers*—with *jealousy*—because our *Quaker policy* exempts us from all the variety of evils to which the *savage* and unchristian policy of war exposes them.

Our policy, so salutary for our own people, like all human things, admits of an alloy, it tempts numbers from those foreign governments to come hither merely for a temporary term—to profit by our policy, and being enriched, to go away; these persons spread through our sea ports, with the various propensities and habits of their own nations, and contaminate many of our own citizens.

Many of our citizens educated in the prejudices of the government which ruled us as colonies, still retain their early attachments and prejudices, and even the most pacific sect exhibits too many examples of the blindness of prejudice which can maintain a *religious* and a *political* sentiment at variance, and destructive one of the other.

A disposition is evident in many to be discontented with a calm and tranquil prosperity; and a solicitude in others to bow down, and rise upon, the necks of their fellow citizens, over whom they fancy they possess either greater talents or greater riches, which conveys to them a more important idea than talents, genius, or virtue.

Many persons educated after the prejudices and habits of foreign countries, and hostile to the simplicity and equality of a free state, become speculators in commerce, and repay their commercial credits by infidelity to their country.

These various classes of men, wrought upon by foreign agents and emissaries—several in the receipt of *stipends* from foreign governments;—numerous presses indirectly bribed and kept in pay by mercantile and consular favor for the purpose of influencing our people, and forming interests, either to retard the growth of our own nation to maturity, or to create interests or alliances with foreign governments.

It is from these various, and other subordinate sources, that we hear the cry for war—*naval establishments*—and extravagant systems.

The peaceable citizen, content with the blessings of liberty, and with that security which a wise and providential policy has preserved for us, is never heard vociferating for war—it is not from the friends of civil liberty and equal rights—it is not from those who would be foremost in the fight, and bear all the brunt of battle with generous and noble ardor; it is not from such men that these ranting and ludicrous sallies issue.

You hear them from men desperate in their fortunes or their hopes—and the moment you find an adventurer or speculator on the verge of bankruptcy, or deprived of the wages of idleness; whether it is the gambler at hazard, or the rash hazard of illegal commerce; for despair drives this unfortunate and desperate description of men to deeper calculations, and like the abandoned *Catiline* or the profligate *Arnold*—they turn their backs upon virtue, lay claim to honor while playing the knave, and end with becoming a sore on society and a disgrace to human nature.



No. II.

HAVING pointed out, in the preceding number, the sources from which all the evil and the disgrace, the disquietude and the turbulence, the servility to foreign nations, and the asperity to our own, proceeds; its causes, and its purposes; we shall now descend to a more especial and distinct application of the general principles.

If we have any thing to complain of for which we cannot obtain redress or restitution by negotiation from any foreign nation—we have means within ourselves that are precious, and the most effective of all the ends for which civil society is instituted, that is, the *promotion of the happiness of the whole, or of the greater number*. No man is so well able to know the blessings of freedom such as we enjoy, as the farmer.

The farmers, and those who acquire support from labor, compose seventeen-twentieths of our population—the will of the majority being the *sovereign power*, that policy which secures the *happiness* of that majority, must prevail—every other interest must be but subordinate to the promotion and security of that happiness.

But it is a fraction of the population, nay, a decimal part of that fraction, which is clamorous for war and extravagance, and which encourages foreign influence and vilification of our government; it is the *minority* attempting to usurp the power of the majority, and to sacrifice the 17 parts to perhaps a tenth of the remaining three parts—take it this way:

The farming and industrious part, or 17-20ths, is	5,100,000
The mercantile part, 3-20ths,	900,000
	<hr/>
	6,000,000

Of the 900,000, perhaps there is not more than a fiftieth that is not as sincerely attached to the United States' prosperity as the great majority; but it is the miserable fraction, of perhaps three or six thousand persons that disturb the nation, and encourage the *intrigues* and *seek* to provoke the hostility of foreign nations.

The happiness of the nation then is its policy, not the wishes of a vicious fraction of the population.

To us the choice between an internal war and a total cessation of intercourse with any nation, would not occupy a moment's deliberation with any man of sense.

Neither will the majority of the *people*, who are the *sovereigns of this country*, ever consider upon a choice between the *limitation of commerce* and the *preservation of peace and liberty* and independence, if the question should arise.

At this time therefore, when the agents of a foreign nation are more virulent against our government in proportion to the despair excited by the disasters that have befallen Europe; when as if envious of our prosperity, angry that we have not shared the common fate of all these nations which conspired against the independence of another—when neither the frustration of corruption here nor humiliation in the other hemisphere has taught the infatuated adherents of England, even ordinary discretion—when the common observance of that gracious prudence, which renders even adversity and disappointment, entitled to commiseration—when no considerations can secure for our government or our policy, an exemption from the opprobrium of presses either *directly hired*, or *indirectly patronized* and enriched for their hostility to our government and our *political* interests—when they effect to hold out terms of accommodation to our ministers in Europe, and are fomenting and upholding conspiracy in the bosom of our land; the *yeomanry* of the country, who though they *make no noise*, must *make and give* the law, when their *voices* are required; it is incumbent on them—and the press to *inform them*, and to guard them against insidious and against open assailants.

These papers are intended for this purpose—to lay bare the *roots* of disaffection, and to designate the only *policy*—and the only rule of judgment which apply to our institutions and our national situation.

This must not be lost sight of—we have no differences nor complaints to make against any European nation, but *Spain* and *Great Britain*. The bribery of our citizens by Spain, has been demon-

strated in Kentucky, in the persons of judges on the seat of justice, and senators in the senate. Our territorial disputes are in the hands of our government; and the intriguing incendiary *Yrujo*, who may be considered as the instrument of all the conspiracies against the United States for years past, has been banished from all intercourse with our government, and deservedly disgraced in the eyes of our country.

With *France* we have no quarrel nor cause of complaint, unless such as is founded on the interruptions of a trade carried on illicitly to a revolted colony, in defiance of the law of nations and of our own laws.

With *England* we have had disputes with little intermission from the peace of 1783:—and although specious promises were held out to our ministers at London, in consequence of the *non-importation* law, we cannot conclude upon any certainty of a successful issue to the negotiation, unless the fate of the continent and the defeat of Burr's conspiracy, by teaching England that she is vulnerable, and that her intrigues are eternally baffled, induces her to act at length with justice towards the only nation in the world which is not from necessity now in hostility against her.

The Spanish intrigues have been over acted, and exploded—the Spanish calumniator is completely dubbed, he pended his infamous labors.

The British alone and their emissaries continue to asperse our government—and from them alone is there any injury or danger to be apprehended.

Did not the undeviating conduct of Britain, for fifteen years, demonstrate her determination to destroy the happiness of the U. States, the assertion of her second Cobbett, Cullen of New York, would be a convincing proof of it—we cannot lose sight of it.—That man has openly avowed, that had it not been for the *battle of Austerlitz* Britain intended to have commenced hostility against this country—or rather in the mild language of British hypocrisy, “bold and resolute in the alliance of *Austria, Russia and Prussia*, she “was adopting towards the United States, principles unknown in the “law of nations.”—Strip this paragraph from the canting of British pomposity, and the plain English is—Britain intended to commence “war in disguise”—and the pamphlet of that name was the manifesto of stupendous piracy and tyranny.

The battle of Austerlitz prevented the principles of that *manifesto* from being acted upon—but we will go back, and endeavor to state the matter in as clear a manner as practicable.

We believe there is not an American who really thinks, leaving even the morality out of sight, that *war* would be *advantageous* to the United States, even with any nation.

Peace is the interest of the farmer—and of the reasonable merchant also.

The language of the *tories* and British agents for fifteen years past, has been—*go to war*.

Why do they say so?

War, they know, would be embarrassing—it might lead to the

ruin of our liberties—for that reason, they urge on war, even with any nation.

Do the British take our ships—*go to war with Britain.*

Do the French take our ships—*go to war with France.*

Do the Spaniards obstruct our navigation—*go to war with Spain.*

Go to war with the *Barbary states.*

Go to war with the *whole world.*

When you take our merchants individually, their advice is so *various, but* comprehensive, that the United States would be at war with all the world if it were to be pursued—some one or the other has some fancied cause of aggression—some one or other would tilt it with the whole universe.

But from what cause do a great proportion of those complaints, even against *Britain* for the capture of vessels on the high seas, originate?

Does it exist in the actual natural trade of the produce of the United States? *No!*

Are vessels laden with flour, or pork, or corn, or beef, seized?—*No!*

Does Britain take vessels laden with cotton, or tobacco, or lumber?—*No!*

How many merchants are there whose cargoes to Europe consist of *coffee*, of *sugar*, of the productions of other nations, that escape safe, and *whose papers are regular?*

Whose are those vessels which are chiefly taken?

Why in perhaps six out of ten cases, those who carry *false papers.*

Mere adventurers, who come here like birds of passage during the commercial heat of war—chiefly *British*, and *French*, and *Scotch* speculators—who bring no affection, leave behind no gratitude, and carry away wealth, for which they repay our country with reproaches and slander.

Ask at our coffee houses, ask at our insurance offices.

If a merchant pays from 20 to 40 per cent. for the *insurance* of *his risque*, if an insurance officer accepts it, do not those men, in the very enormity of the premium, acknowledge a contraband trade?

If ever the fair trade of America was sacrificed, it was when by an ignominious treaty, Britain was suffered to capture American vessels, bound to France with *provisions*, for the French market.

The charge brought against the democracy is, that they are *enemies to commerce.*—The democracy unanimously raised their voice against that odious sacrifice of our own rights and shameful abandonment of the law of nations.

The democracy, then, are the firm friends of all *fair commerce.*

That commerce we will advocate, against every nation that dares to violate it.

Agriculture and *commerce* we hold to be *inseparable.*

But let us separate good from evil—let us set the fair trade on its right foundation; let us not involve it with the rash speculations of every adventurer who may be cast on our shores.

If we light a good Christmas fire on our hearths, to warm our-

selves and friends; does it therefore follow that we should set our houses on fire?

Wine and whiskey are good in their places, to cheer the "*dull pursuits of civil life*," to gladden the heart of a friend; but if we intoxicate ourselves with it—is this the use, is this the way to make us comfortable?

Just so with commerce, keep it within its proper legitimate bounds; in the *fair* commerce of the productions of the *American soil*, or even the fair foreign commerce of our merchants, and no nation on earth will have a pretext to molest us.

Why are not the ships from *China* plundered by foreign cruisers? Why, because there is no deception, the trade is fair.

And will American *farmers* ever consent to go to war, or to build navies, or to erect fortifications, at the call of those British adventurers?

Certainly not—in the productions of their farms, in their *pork, beef, lumber, cotton, and tobacco*, they will never meet but with a comparatively trifling interruption, always inseparable from trading with the powers at war, of whatever nation.

A great part of the vessels captured, even by the British, are *such as never entered the American ports*, and from which the United States have not derived one cent of revenue.

And many of those who touch in ports of the United States, and enter their cargoes at the custom house, have the drawbacks allowed. But a small proportion of revenue is then derived from those—not worth the risque, and trouble, and expense, the government are involved in on their account.

Then why this bawling for a navy and extravagant fortifications?

Why, to answer the purposes of the government of Britain.

But *federalists* and *Americans* join in the demand.

Agreed—But if, for mere political convenience, they do give in to this silly clamor—is it therefore the more wise or necessary?—Witness *Louisiana*.

Previous to the fair purchase of that country, and which in the hands of Spain, its lawful owners, the *federalists* duly appreciated its value to the western states; they declared it was worth a war and all its consequences, of 20,000 lives, 100,000,000 dollars. All this was advocated by the boldest and most eloquent federal orators;—they thought it worth publishing a forged pamphlet to certify its value.

But the moment the present administration purchased it for 15,000,000, then that country was not of any importance, it was a lavish expenditure of money; and had the democrats been duped by clamor in this case, would it have altered the real merits of the purchase?

Just so with a navy and fortifications. Were congress to pay *much* attention to the New York petition, or to enter into their views, half the persons who have signed that petition for fortifications and a navy, as in the *Louisiana* purchase, would be the first to upbraid congress and the administration with the expense; and the injudicious application of the money to dead stone walls.

And will congress not profit by this experience?

Who are many of the men who bawl the loudest for those measures? Which are the prints which advocate them?

Why *British* and *tories*, many of whom would return to their native soil, was the United States at war—men who are endeavoring to set the house in flames, would be the first to run from the fire, and would rather aid the plunder than the extinguishment of the conflagration.

Will our farmers submit to their money being wasted for those spies and emissaries.

For the *due* and *proper* fortification of all our sea ports, where they are actually exposed to danger, we are equal advocates with any person—but no farther—we do not wish to see realized the romantic schemes of a duke of Richmond on this side of the water.

It has been the aim of the British government, and her consuls, to engage this nation in war with France—they have been hitherto defeated.

Britain, resolute and strong in the alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had it not been for the battle of Austerlitz, intended war against us.

Resolute in the alliance of Prussia and Russia, she would again have attempted it.

But the battle of *Jena*—has dissipated all those hopes.

And Britain *will* and *must* now sign a treaty with America, or lose our commerce.

A *treaty* which will be *acknowledgement of her crimes*—but an acknowledgement without contrition, and extracted only from her necessities, which she would be ready to violate the next hour, if in her power. America has now nothing to fear from Britain.



No. III.

A MAN who would say, I will raise a thousand bushels of corn on one acre of land, would be deemed mad; yet those who are the brawlers for a naval establishment, are not more preposterous in their projects or pretensions.

We have a thousand times shewn, that a naval establishment is incompatible, and impracticable in our national circumstances;—and that even if it were practicable to form and fit out and support such an establishment, that it would after all, be wiser to have no military naval establishment whatever.

The readers of the *Aurora*, may perhaps recollect a series of essays published last year, under the title of the *Sovereignty of the Ocean*.—We undertook the discussion of that subject, which cost us much labor and application, merely to shew the futility of the supposed advantages derived from the *sovereignty of the ocean*;

that a superior naval establishment has always been productive of greater *evils* than *advantages*, to every nation that has possessed a naval superiority; and that the only advantages derived from such a force, was the enrichment or aggrandisement of a *few persons of the nation*, at the expense of the liberty, virtue, happiness, and security, of all the rest of the nation.

Another view we had in that discussion, was to shew, that the affected alarms set afloat by the connivance of English emissaries, of danger to be apprehended from France, was so far from being real, that the very necessity which was imposed on France, by the conduct of the insatuated powers of Europe, of keeping them in subjection, would render it equally necessary to keep the whole force of that nation to watch them, and to suppress promptly, any new coalitions that might arise. Much of our anticipations on this topic, have been already fulfilled; and as we then shewed, the policy which concentrates all the force of France, will also keep that force contiguous and disposable; and for that reason the accumulation of *ships*, the *augmentation* of *commerce*, and the establishment of *colonies* will be not remote, but *contiguous*. These were our views in that discussion, time has strengthened them.

A military naval force has been productive only of disaster to France, Holland, and Spain, for the last century; and what has it produced for England? Let its debts, its poor-houses, its prisons, and its declension from civil liberty, declare it. But she has conquered Asia—and for whom? For the people of Asia's happiness? Read Burke's speeches on Hastings, in which, with all his capacity for high colouring, he has fallen far short of the picture of misery procured by English conquests in Asia. The English company after ravaging all Asia, is in debt 175,000,000 of dollars! Was the conquest for the good of the people of England? No, the people of England have retrograded from liberty and comfort almost in the same proportion as the monopolists of Asia have been aggrandized.

Her national debt is 3,000,000,000, three thousand million of dollars!

These then are the effects of a naval superiority, and a competition for naval glory. In the annals of naval achievement, nothing can be more awfully splendid, and horribly brilliant, than the battles of Trafalgar and the Nile. But what have they accomplished?—The battle of Aboukir only transferred Egypt to Turkish barbarism, or Mamaluke anarchy, and Trafalgar lost its object—it has not saved Naples, nor yet secured Sicily; it has not prevented the conquest of the whole European continent; it has not kept a foot of land or an accessible port for England on the whole coast from the Cape of Otranto to the Cattegat.

Yet ideots—for none but knaves or ideots can talk of our establishing a navy to contend with either the victor or the vanquished—competitors for the sovereignty of the ocean. A military naval power can be of no other use than for defence on the high seas; we have not the means to build a navy for this purpose; defence on our coasts and harbors, is the only eligible or even justifiable system

that we can adopt. But a martial navy for the high seas, is the most extravagant notion that can be conceived, because *physical impossibility* meets it on the threshold.

A navy for the ocean must be at least equal to the navy which commits the aggression.—This brings the question then to the simple point—Can we build and support such a navy? This is a question of simple arithmetic. To see this in its simplest light, we have only to state our actual revenue, and let us suppose as a necessary consequence that our revenue would be double to maintain a navy.

Our whole gross revenue, let us suppose to be exclusively applied to the naval establishment; and that the 50,000,000, of revolutionary debt is all paid off—

Say our present revenue,	-	-	15,000,000
Add new internal taxes to support a navy,			15,000,000
		—————	\$ 30,000,000

This would surely be an ample allowance, comparing the present state of our country with such a contingency. What would a navy cost to build? What annually to support it. The sum required to build we shall not confound our readers by noting—if they choose to multiply the number of ships by the cost of the frigate United States, built in this port, the average amount will be about *one half* the first expense.

But the subsistence of a navy, what would it cost, supposing the fleet had suddenly sprung up; or that the British government, instead of using them to transport their monarch and regalia to Bengal, had made us a present of the whole?

A judicious and dispassionate pamphlet lately published on this subject (we presume a production of Mr. Tench Coxe) furnishes data ready prepared, but over cautiously put down; in that pamphlet the average annual expence is, however, set down near *twenty millions* of dollars short of the real expense; yet it states the average at 70,000,000 of dollars a year. Deduct your 30 millions even from this, and you would have still 40,000,000 more to provide for.

Your acre of land, citizens of America, could not then produce you a *thousand bushels of corn*; and you must be content to take your land and cultivate it with care, and be satisfied with what it will really produce, though it were only from 10 to 35.

But there is another circumstance—where would the *men* come from? Great Britain, although she has Ireland and Scotland to drain from by impressment, is forced to seize and make slaves of 3000 of our citizens; and the Danes, Swedes, Italians, Lubeckers, Hamburgers and Dutch seamen, are allowed to compose a full third of the seamen who navigate and fight her ships of war.

Are you, *farmers*, ready to send your sons on board the destructive den of *disease, crimes, immorality*, and *human debasement*, called a man of war? O! God forbid!—remote be that day when national infatuation, or corruption, or debasement, shall tear our yeomen from the plough to carry murder and desolation on the ocean—murder for *sordid gain*—a country before us blessed by nature with all that can be required by virtuous man, and to invite the love of peace, and the blessings of which peace, liberty, and justice is capable of conferring on a man.

No. IV.

NEXT to a due knowlege and consideration of your own internal concerns—the good you possess, the necessity of watching that good in order to preserve it, and to perceiving the absurdity of those who would lead you into measures that are utterly impossible of accomplishment, only to undermine your government—the accurate knowlege of the *impulses* which *move* those who treat you thus insidiously—is most important.

It is a *fashionable* reply of the *agents, emissaries* and *adherents*, of that nation, which has almost incessantly insulted, oppressed, or plundered us on the seas, or corrupted our *citizens* and our *prcesses* on shore—it is the *fashionable*—it is the *only* argument they use in reply to all the *facts*—the *damning* and ever recurring facts we publish—‘*The AURORA is in the French pay—the Aurora is the incessant eulogist and panegyrist of Bonaparte.*’

Why this mode of *argument* proves nothing—nay it proves that nothing can be said in refutation of what we say; and by admitting that nothing can be said in refutation of what we say, at once shews the *motive* for such *argument*!

We should scorn to notice such subterfuge, did it not afford us an opportunity to place facts in a new and stronger point of light.

We say that *English emissaries* are employed and paid for their services in the United States.

To this they reply, there are French emissaries in the same situation and for similar purposes.

How is the matter to be decided? Is it true of one, or both? These questions are easily decided by facts.

The intention of emissaries, as far as we have ever heard, has been always either to guard the foreign nation from injury, or to injure the nation where they are stationed—“By their deeds then you shall know them.”

We have never heard of a foreign nation employing emissaries to sustain a government, or to support its measures—or to vindicate its rights. We have rarely heard of a government reared up upon the ruin of democracy, paying agents to maintain a democracy in another country—nay, when those who effect to denounce this employment of French emissaries come here for no other purpose in the world than to destroy *democracy*.

Take it in another view; let us suppose that there is French gold employed as English gold was employed by LISTON, on democratic *Porcupines* and *Carpenters* and *Parkes*;—if these formidable emissaries only support the government—if they endeavor to inculcate principles of civil liberty, of virtue, of general justice, of the liberty of the press—it must then be admitted that there is no *enmity* in this conduct; if a foreign government pays persons in America, for vindicating the cause of peace, virtue and the principles of the revolution, it must at last be taken as proof of the falsehood of those who declare the hostile designs of that power; there is at least a greater degree of *liberality* in this *military chief*

than there is to be found in the *acts* and *deeds* of the emissaries on the other side—for it is worthy of remark, that the only strenuous and consistent democrats who support the principles of the declaration of *independence*, are said to be in *French* pay, while those who say so, oppose the declaration of independence, damn democracy, and execrate the author of the declaration of independence, who they say is likewise a *violent jacobin*, and have a thousand times over accused of being in French pay also.

Either of these two positions must be false, either there are no French emissaries, since there are no papers which uphold French policy in opposition to American policy.

Or if there is, France acts as a friend and not an enemy.

We have given these *friendly emissaries* a *fair trial*—let us see what we can say of our English "*people's friends*."

Under every administration of England, the agents and adherents of that country have *openly* and *unreservedly* avowed hostility to our *principles* and *form* of government.

Under an administration partial to that country, they sought to involve us in a desperate association with the combined powers of Europe.

They sought when that failed to involve us in a war with Spain.

Frustrated in that and in the efforts of their emissaries to produce civil war, (it was Porcupine, who merited a statue of gold, that first preached up the memorable badge of proscription, the black cockade) they labored to bring about a severation of the union.

Upon a change of public functionaries, greatly accelerated by the *detection* of the British intrigues; after using every effort to influence our presidential election, *Liston* slunk off—but the agents and emissaries continued to revile and asperse our free government, and to exercise an *influence in our elections*.

On all elections, the *papers* under English influence—the agents of England—those who depend upon the agents for mercantile favor—are all uniformly hostile to popular government and to those who advocate the administration upon the principles of the revolution.

These are *facts* palpable and indisputable—they defy controversy—and speak more than *volumes* of general argument.

Let us go even into circumstances more particular—we do not wish without *necessity* to use the name of any *individual* who is not an *obvious writer* or *publisher*, in vilification of American institutions, policy, and the existing administration; we do not mean to degrade men who are infatuated or blinded by early prejudices, or whose families perhaps, depend on English credits—we mean not to hang their effigies in the same gibbet with *Porcupine* and *Cullen*.

But we will ask—is it not a fact, if an Englishman emigrates to this country with principles congenial to the American revolution, that if on his arrival he avows he is a friend of representative government; if his ideas are in unison with the first settlers of this country—he is immediately shunned, and branded with the

name of *jacobin* by the principal part of the merchants here? Is not this a melancholy and a damning fact?

But if an Englishman arrives and naturalizes himself—(*we will not call it perjurying himself,*) if he damns republican government and the administration of it in this country, which he has most solemnly in the name of God adopted—if he will cry up the blessings of *monarchy* in opposition to democracy, the *virtues* of George III. all of which he has *abjured*, and libel Thomas Jefferson whom he never saw—that with such Englishmen, will our federal merchants associate—bestow on them favor and applause!

It is true that many of them, and the insurance offices also have paid dear for this folly—cases need not be mentioned—we know and could name them, snug as they think they are—but they are registered without abating the *folly*!

In no other country in the world would merchants be so infatuated as to hold their *coffee house*, their *exchange*, their *insurance offices*, under the unwearied vigilance of notorious *British spies*—of men avowedly such—*planted in our cities for the express purpose of spies*—men whose business it is to *wriggle into the conversation of every knot of merchants* assembled—to be always on the watch for their *discourse*—to find out the destination of their ships, their cargoes, and illicit adventures—to find out the *policies* made—indeed to be acquainted with every transaction on which *British cruizers* can or cannot *justify capture*—those discoveries are minutely noted down—they are daily reported to their employers—and expresses have been regularly forwarded to *Halifax*—to the *West India islands*, to the *cruizers blockading our ports*, from such channels—by such information and thus acquired is it that our merchants and insurance offices meet many of their losses.

Are such men to be pitied—will our farmers go to war, or build navies for such ideots?

These are the miserable creatures who exclaim against the exposition of historical facts—the anticipation of events from a consideration of the sagacity and genius of one man, and the stupidity and folly of others—this they call eulogy!

Yet it is such men chiefly who bawl for fortifications and a navy—and who themselves, the adherents of *Miranda*, of *Britain*, of *Burr*, roar out against those who guard the country against them.

Who sent for the British frigates from *Halifax*, when the French were there? What was the employ of the British after their arrival?—*Capturing American vessels*!

Will our farmers expend their property for such men?

As the last resource of Britain and her emissaries, every attempt will yet be made use of in her expiring struggle, still to lead us on to ruin. When *Burr's* conspiracy is unravelled, as that of *Yrujo* and *Corondolet's* has been, and as *Liston's* was, what will the emissaries say?

Lucifer like, they wished to involve the whole world in her destruction. And every government that has but listened to her wiles has been *destroyed*.

The recapitulation is needless.

It is for that reason that in the New York memorial, they have intimated at this time an attack on France.

France never will view that attack but as the effusion of British spies.

The British papers at New York avow their determination, they are beating the *drum* for enlisting the offscum of America—and they openly threaten to erect the British standard.

And are they such fools as to believe, that any but men like themselves would erect such an ensign of disaster—to pass the *seas*, and like *Austria*, like *Prussia*, to run into the jaws of certain death?

If Americans were too wise before they had the experience of the 16 past years, to avoid their constant theme of hostility to France, *hostility unprovoked* will they now with all those dreadful facts staring them in the face—are they willing now to shake hands with this all-destroying power?

Certainly not—the hope of those who indulge it, is but the delusion of despair.

Let the agents of Britain muster all their strength, let us see their adherents support their pretensions with consistency. Why do they stay here where they must be in a minority if they were to live for two centuries? Why do they not go and join a fifth crusade? it would be an advantage to the *United States*.

Do those people believe that our farmers are unacquainted with who pays the taxes even in *necessary* wars—with who are burthened; or that they are ignorant of the easy mode which merchants have of avoiding their *proportion of taxes*?

In case even of a *necessary* war, who would pay the permanent taxes?—*The farmer.*

Who even in Britain, pays the *land tax*, the *poor rates*, and all the other permanent taxes?—*The farmer.*

Who would have to pay them, in the United States, in the event of a war?—*The farmer.*

The *excise laws*, *window and hearth tax*, the *land tax*, and a thousand others, all to be paid by *the farmer.*

Whilst the *British emissary* would rejoice at the destruction he brought the deluded American into, he could *transfer his stock* to some other country, and there exultingly exclaim against the country he had betrayed, and roar out *those are the blessings of democracy*, like the *Moores* and *Welds*, those reptiles brought to life in the hot beds of monarchical odure—they would go and proclaim abroad, that the worms in our dunghills are the most *congenial* animals they met with.

In Britain the consequence of those *eternal wars* which she has engaged in, has been the total enslavement of her population, to the *paper money*, the *mercantile*, and the *banking system.*

The poor unoffending *farmer* is only the slave and *vassal* of his noble or ignoble landlord.

Crushed by taxes, the once independent farmer is sent in his old age to the poor-house—his children are scattered over the world to fight the *mercantile battles* of their despots.

Farmers of America, such would be your fate, the moment a majority of your legislators could be found fools, or corrupt enough to hearken to the deception of British emissaries.

Like the *yeomanry* of Britain, you would sink to destruction.

By you then it is that the United States will preserve her liberty—you will defend her *real*, and your *real interests*.

Agriculture and commerce in their real utility.

But charge your representatives never to be the dupes of cumbersome navies or armies—nor of British influence—for either would be your destruction.



No. V.

YOUNG as our country is in the political world, it has furnished a world of useful experience—the *farmers* of this land, the simple, honest, laboring classes of men—those who are not *above the dull pursuits of civil life*, cannot be insensible to their blessings—to that pacific and frugal and honest policy, which renders equal justice to all men, and all societies of men—to that pacific, frugal, and neutral policy, which leaves no room for anger, or the enmity of other nations—which neither goes to excite their jealousy or their fears—the value of this *policy* we all feel, none feel it more than the farmers—and those whose comforts are the fruits of peace and industry; none can be so much interested in the preservation of that policy as the farmers, for it is from their *pockets*, from the produce of their farms, that a hostile, an extravagant, or an actual war policy must be paid; nay, it is the *farmer* and the man of industry, who would also have to *fight* as well as to pay; while those who come here only for the harvest of commerce during the season of war, would fly to where the sunshine of peace would afford them security from the dangers or the expense of war. These are serious considerations for the farmers; we recommend these *farmer's politics* to the republican farmers of *Vermont*, as one of their members appears to have been *bitten* by one of the *mad dogs of war*.

Let the farmers compare and contrast the measures, and the politics of men—let them peruse carefully, even the history of our early settlements—they will find useful lessons in the history of our own old times; let them see wherein the measures and politics of the royal governors of the colonies, resemble the measures and politics of governors in our own times;—see where the dispositions and the principles are similar, and ask if there can be any good, where there is such an agreement in tyrannic, or extravagant, or oppressive policy.

Come lower down even to the experience we have had, since the federal constitution.

Who have been for extravagant and violent systems?

Who have been for frugal and pacific systems of policy?

Who favored the mad measures, which produced the taxes on lands and houses, the excises and stamps? *Not the farmers—who pay every tax.*

But the rapacious broods, that live upon the extravagance and speculations on the misfortunes of mankind.

Who produced the extinction of those oppressive burthens?

The fundamental principle on which the state of Pennsylvania was founded by *Penn.* was—PEACE.

On this principle, both in theory and in practice, whilst the *quakers* held the administration of its government, were its affairs conducted—this honor and praise is due to them—however much there has been a *backsliding* among some of its members since; and in defiance of the calumnies and denunciations of the *tories* and *federalists* of that day, that is of the English courtiers and proprietary agents, did they pursue, undeviatingly, their principles—any man, who wishes to read useful lessons, will find them in *Dr. Franklin's* history of Pennsylvania.

Unmoved by the contumelies of their adversaries, those peaceable people followed the commands of their great, good, and illustrious patron.

They were reproached, indeed, with the names of *cowards* and of *dastards*—of being economists of “*blood and treasure*,” nay of enemies to the liberties of their country; as men who would sacrifice its *liberties* to the power of *France*—these very charges were made, by British governors and agents.

All these reflections were cast on the followers and disciples of *PENN.*

But in spite of all those charges, did this state, then a province, arise to a rank and *equality* in this new world, with their sister states, in a shorter time, and to a prosperity unequalled.

To the Indian natives *their policy was justice*—by that conduct they conciliated their esteem, and to this day do the aborigines of America express their gratitude to the quakers.

Whilst the frontiers of other states were drenched in blood from the cruelties and invasions and injustice of “*sainted pilgrims*,” those quakers enjoyed a profound peace.

Look to the history of many other states, look to the proclamations of many governors of the “*sainted pilgrims*,” and compare the account.

Here you see no reward offered by the first founders for the *scalps* of *men, women and children*, fixing the price by the regulated gradation of age.

Here you see no laws enacted by the “*sainted pilgrims*” of *Penn.* for banishing or hanging of *baptists*, of *protestants*, of *papists*, of *quakers*—or others who differed from them “*in modes of faith*.”

Here there was justice to the natives, and *equal liberty* to all settlers.

The blood of *Indians* or of *European settlers* are not registered in the records of heaven, against the first planters of Pennsylvania.

And to the honor of lord *Baltimore*, a Roman catholic, he follow-

ed the footsteps of *Penn*, in his system of toleration of liberty of conscience—neither of these men nor their sects in flying to the wildernesses of *América*, brought with them the cruelty or intolerance of the old world—this was left for “*sainted pilgrims* and steady habits.”

Exactly what were the principles of *Penn*, in respect to the state of Pennsylvania, are the principles of *Jefferson*, to the whole world.

If then the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania was branded with the character of a coward, for his *peaceable principles*, is it any wonder that those who follow the path and example of *PENN*, should meet with equal calumny.

That *Penn* was an enemy to war as hostile to every principle of policy, (and the state of Pennsylvania is a proof of his policy) we ought and do glory in.

That such are the principles of *Jefferson* we are proud to know—and that our country is honored in the world for his policy.

But let the declaration of the constitution of this state. let the sufferings of *Penn* for his religious opinions, let the trial of *Penn* and *Mead*, at the Old Bailey, attest that he was no coward, in his individual person; there is to be seen that noble fortitude which constitutes real courage; the resolute maintenance of truth, and the scorn to admit deceit or vice.

“*The present administration are niggards of blood and treasure.*”

This is the declaration of *Cullen*, the *British spy* at New York—and even the “*sainted pilgrims*” say so; it seems as if the *sainted pilgrims* had in process of time, imbibed from the blood of the Indians, shed the aboriginal aptitude for bloodshed.

And whose *blood and treasure* does this hireling wish to flow?

Like *Windham* the British secretary of war, *Cullen's* patron, when the French were sent to death and massacre, at Quiberon—“*if a Frenchman is killed—an enemy is decreased,*”—so he may say “*if an American is killed there is a rebel less.*”

So it is with the *British agents*;—democrats or federalists, it is of no consequence to them—their only aim is to involve these states in war—their only aim is to lead America on to destruction.

We have plainly pointed out in our former essays who are the persons that labor to involve the United States, and the administration, in dispute with foreign nations.

We have plainly pointed out, who are the persons that would have to pay the permanent taxes in case of a war, of a navy, of fortifications, for the interest of mercantile speculators—in a word—

THE FARMERS and industrious classes—*FAY AND FIGHT ALL!*

These are the men who are *stationary*, who cannot budge from their plantations and their homes, who cannot skulk into counting houses of *ten feet square*, and whilst they may be accumulating *thousands* by their foreign traffic, or by *war contracts*, are comparatively exempted from the calls of the *tax gatherer*—and are never to be seen in the ranks of our militia.

The *farmers* are always visible, they are not *birds of passage*—they are not foreigners who treat mankind as a dead carcase, and who just *pitch* like vultures for prey, and then flit off.

The farmer, when the tax gatherer calls, if not at home to-day, is sure to be found to-morrow.

Not like *British agents* who to-morrow are on the way to the *United Kingdoms*.

On the *farmers*, then, would the brunt of war fall, whether by permanent service in case of an invasion from a foreign foe—or a naval mercantile war by *taxes*.

Such being the case, how much does it behove the *farmers* of the United States to oppose any system which shall involve them in war.

And especially in *war*, or a *navy*, or *fortifications*, totally opposite to their interest, and for which they have no more need than the people in the moon.

The farmers will be jealous of every thing like war, more particularly at the instigation of *British spies*, and *presses*, *ambassadors*, or *consuls*—her own example proves her unfit to advise others—her conduct to us proves her to be unfit to be trusted by us.

Britain has already led *ten monarchies*, besides numerous petty princes and states, to the loss of their independence—by her counsels—her *gold* and her *corruption*.

The means by which she accomplished their ruin were exactly similar to the means which she has pursued in the United States—but, thank God, with a different effect; had our government not been an elective one—our ruin had been completed before the year 1800—the *farmers* then awoke from delusion and saved the nation from wicked counsellors and English influence.

An *administration*, playing into the hands of Britain, was, by the almost unanimous voice of the *sovereign people*, driven into obscurity—162 to 14—a proportion pretty well agreeing with the proportions of the *farming* and *foreign* interests.

Cobbett, the supporter of that administration, fled to the haunts and dens of *St. James's*.

Driven to despair, the monarchy of George III. after enjoying the savage spectacle of the ruin of all the *old family thrones* of Europe, precipitated by the folly of listening to her *agents* and *consuls*, beneath the just vengeance of France, will redouble her efforts at this *eleventh hour*, to involve these states with himself in destruction.

It is for this her secret expeditions are fitted out—for this that she provides funds for a *Burr* and a *Miranda*—for this she corrupts our presses to vilify our government.

The *British monarchy*, like *Satan* with our first parents, will deem her approaching ruin more tolerable, so as she can, by any means, tempt the people of the United States to follow like others, in her path of destruction.

It is for this cause, and this cause only, that we see the papers directly paid by Ker, and the *federal papers of America*, copy from these papers, incitements to *war*, *navies*, *taxes*, and *fortifications*.

It is for this cause, and this cause only, that Britain pays Blounts and Burrs, and supports our Catilines and Claudiuses to domestic treason, that the *Indians* are stirred up to war, to second the views of those *Catilines*.

It is for this *cause*, and this *cause only*, that many are loud for a *navy*, and *war*, and *fortifications*—they know that the *farmers* are not interested in these, and that by congress adopting those plans to the *extent proposed*—the *union would be dissolved*.

This is their aim.

Farmers, you who are 17 *parts of* 20 of the population of the U. States, you 162 to 14—are you advocates for your own ruin?

You will, although there are apostates from *both*—and who ally with their enemies, you will still follow the peaceable principles of *Penn* and *Jefferson*.



No. VI.

AT the commencement of the coalition formed at Mantua and Pilnitz against France in the year 1791, the plan of partition and plunder was not at first avowed; and it was understood that Great Britain should be allowed time to work up the national temper which was then in favor of the French reforms of government; *Burke's* famous and infamous writings were the fuel used to excite this universal conflagration; and very soon, by the excitement of terror and fear—addresses against *levellers* and *republicans*, covered the tables of the British parliament.

These addresses made a great noise, as was intended; their *numbers* appalled the *farmers* of England, who were adverse to war, and indeed adverse from interest to any concern with the internal affairs of other nations—for which they could see no purpose or end, and the *expenses* of which they knew must ultimately fall upon themselves.

However, after counting up the number of *signatures* to those voluminous addresses, it was found that the whole of the advocates for war and destruction were less than 35,000—out of all the population of Great Britain!—*that is, out of eleven millions!*

It was this small number of 35,000, which playing into the hands of the placemen and pensioners of St. James's, who plunder the whole population of that devoted nation, that put England in the high road to that destruction which she now rapidly approaches.

The *clergy* of the established church petitioned for war.

Those men feared for their *tythes*, the tenth part of the *farmer's* produce in England and Ireland is theirs—this would possibly have been superseded by an equitable stipend in the event of a reform.

The *insurance offices* petitioned for war.

Those institutions gain *ten times* the profits by war that are gained by *peace* risques.

The *merchants* petitioned for war.

They hoped to monopolize the commerce of the world, and to double the usual peace profits.

The *banking traders* petitioned for war.

Those hoped to profit by the *paper money loans*—and by the employment of banking funds in underhand usury.

The *monied interest* petitioned for war.

Because they expected to receive 8 *per cent. interest*.

Every idle fellow, above the “*dull pursuits of civil life*,” petitioned for war.

Because he expected to live on the sweat and the labor, and the industry, and the talents of the virtuous part of the union.—Bankrupts in fortune and character; gamblers of all descriptions; men of desperate fortune and profligate life; all petitioned for war. Because in peace and prosperity they could not exist.

Nine tenths of the public papers were in the pay of the *clergy*, the *insurance offices*, the *banks*, the *merchants*, and *monied interest*.

They of course obeyed the mandates of their *employers* and they petitioned for war—and they inflamed the minds of the people with fear and misrepresentation; because that was rendering homage to the views of their patrons.

All those men knew that the *taxes* and expenses of the war would fall *not on themselves*, but on the *farmers*.

In opposition to this *small*, corrupt, heterogeneous, but active body of *civilized savages*, was opposed the representations of but *few*—and of *those few* some were men, screened by their parliamentary privileges; for the great proportion of the population were terrified into silence by ministerial libels—by the burning down of dissenting meeting houses, by the seizure of men upon artificial and fictitious accusations—by the charge of *jacobinism*, and being the adherents of France.

However, some were found bold enough to raise their voices against the REIGN OF TERROR—This artificial terror. Whenever we have it in our power to do justice by shewing their going deeds—nothing can afford us more pleasure than to speak well of the QUAKERS; to their immortal honor they boldly, in opposition to the current of war, then bearing down or paralysing every virtue before it, without “fear or trembling” approached the *foot of the throne* of George III. and there in spite of the frowns of courtiers, and the menaces of *renewed* intolerance, they entered their protest against the bloody measures.

A truly great man, who, from his entrance into the cabinet of George III. seems to have sickened at the revelation of iniquitous deeds, of which his station forced upon him the knowlege.

Charles Fox, and those who *sheltered* themselves under his name, who held the skirt of his garment (but to whom he has not left his mantle!) likewise advocated *peace*, and in that famous and prophetic speech, which he made the night before the declaration of hostilities against France; that great man too truly foretold, that the destruction of the old monarchies of Europe would be the consequence of their deplorable rashness and infatuation.

But what avails the *exhortations* of wisdom, to a stupid or a besotted people—to a people who suffer their liberties to be destroyed, and their power and rights frittered away by executive encroachment and corruption; the court prevailed, the petitions of

the clergy, the banks, the merchants, the insurance offices, the lazy, preponderated; and to use the metaphor of a: *adherent*, she threw her "*sword into the scale*"—but the effect has been not to maintain the *balance*—the scales themselves are destroyed.

The charge of *jacobins*, of *agents of France*, of *cowards*, was resounded from all quarters, by the deluded and appalled population of Britain, against the *Quakers*, the dissenters, (that is the Calvinists, Methodists, &c.) and the party of *peace* of every civil and religious denomination.

The bill of rights, so much boasted of, fell beneath the fangs of a profligate and unfeeling minister—the habeas corpus act was suspended—*sedition bills* and *licences of the press*, on such *principles* as were advocated by M^r Kean in his late *speech*, passed the British house of parliament—and proclamations were sent forth as laws, though Charles I. had perished on a scaffold, for that among other offences.

It was a reign of terror indeed—dismal and gloomy!

Well, *war* they have had; and after pursuing war for twelve years with every consequence that had been predicted by Fox—with her 700 sail of ships of war—with her 250,000 soldiers—with her battle of the Nile—the cabinet of Britain supplicated for peace—from that nation which it had by means unheard of in civilized times, sought to destroy and extinguish—to blot out from the map of Europe as the great apostle of wickedness, Edmund Burke declared to be the purpose.

But unfortunately for them they found too late that such was the corruption generated by *war*, such was the number of dependants on *war*, such the number of pensioners, of *half pay officers*, of *excisemen*, of the younger branches of the families of the well born, who were by *war* educated in habits of vain idleness and luxurious iniquity, such the influence of the *insurance offices*, of the *contractors*, of the *money lenders*, and other *blood suckers*—and such the *slavery*, and *wretchedness*, and *supineness*, and *broken heartedness*, of the poor miserable *farmers*, who with barracks erected in every town, were under the constant apprehension of the bayonets and sabres of a *standing army*, THEN DARE NOT SPEAK!

A peace was indeed made—a hollow peace—for it was found that this heap of corruption could feed and be supported, only by war.

And war was again commenced with new horrors, and on pretences impious and confuted by the very terms employed to justify re-aggression—and, behold the effect; with her 700 sail of ships of war—with her 250,000 soldiers—with her *three hundred millions of dollars* annual expenditure—with her battle of Trafalgar—Britain as before was defeated; and that arch *fiend* the *Robespierre* of Britain, *Pitt*, appalled and confounded with the ruin he had brought on all the monarchies who had fallen into the "embraces of the harlot," terrified at the impending prostration of his own country from her once proud place in the political map of Europe—was dying of despair, when the roaring of the cannon of *Austerlitz*, hastened his haunted and ensanguined spirit—to his account.

The use of history is *example*—to shun what is evil, to pursue what is good :—how *gloriously* and *happily* different is the fate of America and her *farmers*—compared with that of England or any other nation.

We see here, as in Britain, *printers* and others sold to the destructive influence and corruption of Britain.

We have seen her emissaries almost trample on the necks of our citizens in the highways and streets.

Men the uniform advocates of war.

Men who like the *descriptions* of these we have counted in Britain, are tossing in their infuriated torches, and like fiends of hell, breathing slaughter and destruction, where they have no provocation; but who *seal up their lips* and muzzle their presses, when the *cloven foot* of the political devil of Europe is discovered, beneath the domino of the *traitor*.

But, thank God, they are the minority—not only as they were in Britain, always in numbers; but here in influence.

War, standing armies, navy, fortifications.

Whenever these become items in our fundamental policy—then, as in Britain, will our *farmers* no longer bear perhaps not even the name of freemen—but, like the *Cassadocians* they will become *willing slaves*.

The *farmers of America* are 17 parts of 20, of the population of the United States.

The *farmers of America* never will give up their right to the revenue of the United States, into the hands of British emissaries, or to their iniquitous and perfidious clamors.

The *farmers of America* will always count their *strength*; they will not be affrighted by the miserable factions that countenance such emissaries as the *Cobbetts* and the *Cullens*; nor will they be imposed upon by being called *jacobins*, or with being friends of peace, in common with the author of the declaration of independence.

Major Jackson recommends the hanging of all Spanish spies—why and wherefore does he not make it a common proscription of all foreign spies and incendiaries, of whatever nation they may be, who conspire against the peace and liberties of this only free nation.

Why are *Bronson*, and *Relf*, and *Parke*, and *Cullen*, chopfallen?

Farmers of America—“*this silence is eloquence*”—you see in it the only source from which real danger is to be apprehended—from that nation which can command, by her influence, direct or indirect—the plaudits or the silence of our presses.

If then the *quakers* in England, if *Charles Fox*, if every good man, who was an enemy to war, and all its horrors, were branded with the epithets of *jacobins*, of *atheists*, of *deists*, of *agents* in the pay of France—for their opposition to a ruinous and unprovoked coalition—should we not be proud that the *Aurora* does not escape—that is signalled by the hatred and the rage of every ruffian blinded by power, by profligacy, or venality.

The principles of the *Aurora* are those of Penn, of the quakers

of England, of such as Charles Fox inculcated in the early stage of the memorable war of the coalitions.

All our solitudes are *peace*—war only on the defensive.

Let then the advocates of war rave, be they of what sect they may.

Tired of war, last year on the death of Pitt, that man, *Charles Fox*, that man who was loaded with as much abuse as the president of the United States has been by British agents—who was like him, called *athiest, deist, agent in the pay of Bonaparte*, was called by the awakened population of Britain to take the reins of power, to rescue the nation from the verge of destruction.

No. VII.

YOU are well acquainted with the transactions which have passed in open day ; but there are transactions which have passed under the concealment of perfidy, that you remain unacquainted with. The attempts of foreign nations to influence and direct your councils, was shewn in the case of Liston, and the attempts to dissever your country, in the conspiracy of Blount, Romaine, &c. by the same Liston. Ogden a refugee from New York ; a relative of those Ogdens who have been the participators of the conspiracy of *Burr* and the buccaneering expedition of *Miranda*, publicly declared, and wrote, that Great Britain *retained Canada only as a rod over the heads of the revolted Americans*.

You have seen many Americans professing allegiance to the U. States concerned in supporting the intrigues of the British ambassador—and you have seen her undisguised emissaries avowing their contempt of your institutions, and sporting audacious contumely on the character of American citizens ; while the emissary is not only declared in parliament of England to be entitled to a *statue of gold* for such conduct, but obtains a *pension* out of the royal civil list sufficient upon the sale of the patent to purchase an ample landed estate. The American reader may judge of the extent of the reward bestowed upon British emissaries, by a single fact. Porcupine has sent to the United States, and has obtained ten thousand *oak plants* from the American forests, to be planted on the estate which he has purchased out of the sale of this pension—the plants are actually forwarded, by an eminent seedsman in this city.

The very same men who patronized Porcupine are now in power, in England, and there are men so infatuated as to discredit any idea of the British government countenancing the injuries done by her ships of war, and the conspiracies carrying on in the western country ; while 3000 of our citizens are detained by force on board her fleets, and thirty millions of American property lies at the discretion of her courts of admiralty :—and the ship *Cam-*

brian, in disregard of our national independence, comes into our waters and insults us.

But this is not all. Can it be from motives of respect or good will that she selects her consular agents from among a class of men obnoxious to the liberties and independence of the United States. Against these individuals, as mere men in their domestic characters, we have nothing to say, with their private lives or concerns, we have nothing to do.—But with them as public agents, the *principles* which cause the selection to be made from among the enemies of the *revolution* that established our independence, are *public topics*, political topics, and demand a constant political vigilance and reprehension.

Whether Mr. Hamilton at Norfolk, is or is not one of this class, we are not sufficiently well informed to say. But *Phineas Bond*, the English consul in this city, is a native of this city, a refugee, and an enemy of the revolution.

Mr. *Thomas Barclay*, the English consul at New York, was attainted of treason during our revolution; his zeal in the service of England, we well know.

Mr. *Andrew Allen*, jun. English consul at Boston, is of the same class.

A recent circumstance is connected with this subject—we see in the papers an account of a *special privilege* given to a Mr. *Williams*, who is said to be of *Baltimore*, to trade with the revolted blacks in St. Domingo; Mr. *Williams* of Baltimore! It is said, that similar *privileges* are given to all British subjects.—We did not before suppose that to be of the city of Baltimore, and a British subject too, was in the fair acceptance of language correct; and certainly the privilege of the British king cannot give any resident of Baltimore the right to violate our laws.

But this is not all. We have conversed with a gentleman from Halifax in Nova Scotia, and he states to us in the most explicit manner the following information. The capture of the ship *Messenger* off the port of New York, about three months ago, may be recollected; she was sent to Halifax.

It so happened, however, that the vessel belonged to a Mr. *Rutgers*, perhaps the very gentleman who signed the memorial about *fortifications* presented to congress. Mr. *Rutgers*, the owner of the *Messenger*, is the *relation* of Mr. *Barclay*; and another *Rutgers*, his brother, was the supercargo. This was a sad mistake of capt. Beresford, of the *Cambrian*. The consuls in the United States have, in fact, powers co-extensive with those of the pro-consuls of the Roman provinces. Mr. *Barclay* addressed himself to Halifax in force, and what think you was his artillery?—why, that Mr. *Rutgers's* ship ought to be released, for *he is* “WARMLY FEDERAL.”

Now, *American farmers*, what think you of this? Either the English consul is acting with a full knowledge of the dispositions of his government, or he is not—the selection of the man, however, indicates an affirmative; and *Bond*, who was privy to all Porcupine's hostility to our government, even in the days of *John*

Adams, is still retained. The hostility is uniform from that day to this; and it is not an empty or imbecile hostility: for look at the plain and obvious import of Mr. *Consul Barclay's* recommendation. Mr. *Rutgers* is "*warmly federal*"—what is meant by this? Why, the obvious meaning of this phrase is, that he is a *warm opposer of the measures and policy of the government of the United States*. Is the fact so or not? The facts agree—Mr. *Rutgers* is *warmly federal*—he is *warmly* opposed to the government, and therefore not only was his ship released from the claws of the harpies, but, as we are informed, captain *Beresford* was himself so "*warmly federal*," that when he found out the *warm federalism* of the supercargo of the *Messenger*, he deplored having sent the vessel for adjudication, and immediately went in search of her: nay, he promised that on her arrival at Halifax she should be instantly released without delay or hindrance, or even a trial, and even to supply men to navigate her back, finding she belonged to gentlemen so *warmly federal*!

Now, *farmers of America*, are you surprised that the merchants, whose divinity is the goddess of *her centage*, should be all "*WARMLY FEDERAL*," when to be *warmly federal* in the good graces of a British consul, can save their ships and cargoes from piracy and depredation.

You see in this *damning fact*, the premium which the English government holds forth for influencing your people; you see the cause of that influence in the seaports, because in the seaports alone you find *warm federalism* and *warm devotion* to England; which in fact means the same thing.

Here then you have also a *key to mystery* by which so many newspapers are upheld in opposition to your principles of government, to your pacific policy, and your best interests; papers which are not patronised for any merit, *intellectual* or *literary*, but for being like Mr. *Rutgers*, *warmly federal*. Here you can perceive why *Miranda's* expedition was countenanced—it *was warmly federal*—and here too you may perceive why it is, that there is such a mixture of *triumph* and *apprehension* concerning Burr's expedition—triumph because it is *warmly federal* in opposition to the peace and liberties of his country; apprehension because it is *warmly federally* feared that it may be frustrated, and the *warmly federal* faction found at the bottom of it.

This *warmly federal* circumstance accounts to you, why you are calumniated—because you are not *warmly federal*, you are *temperately pacific*, devoted to the *unity and integrity* of these states, happily confederated together. Hear what an emissary of England says of the farmers of America, in a paper which, imitating Mr. Burr's "*union of all honest men*," he calls "*the people's friend*."

It is part of an essay on *Burr's conspiracy*, and here is the federal sentence passed by a British spy on the *farmers of America*.

"The natural cupidity of the people, sharpened into avarice by our executive experiments and the appetite for change and enterprize engendered, or at least fostered by the solitary condition of their lives; would naturally have rendered them accessible to the insinuation of those who held out to them the promise of wealth in the mines of Mexico, and of new lands and new acquisitions in that rich part of the world."

Farmers of Kentucky, and of the union at large, what think you of this character given you by the pen of this Cullen? a man who neither knows you, nor your country, other than by a stage coach journey, from Charleston to New York.

A libel written at the moment when the energy of the *farmers* of the western country was giving a death blow to the hopes of *traitors*, and to the hopes of the warmly federal English faction.

The reason why the *farmers* of the western country are thus libelled, is not because they *did* join in Burr's conspiracy, but because they *would not* join in it. It was on the bench of justice, and at the bar of the courts of law, in the coffee house, and gambling houses and brothels, that materials were sought and found—men above the dull pursuits of civil life.

Because the *farmers* will not deviate from their interests, thence it is that they are to be libelled by these *infamous hirelings*.

Is it for a *British emissary*, supported by the mercantile interest of *British agents*, and of Americans, who according to the description of Mr. Barclay, the *British consul at New York*, deserve the appellation of "*warmly federal*"—is it for those men to charge our *farmers* with duplicity?

We know the common appellation of those *British agents*, and of Mr. Barclay's men, "*warm federalists*," when speaking of the *farmers* of America, as, *ignorant stupid country boors*.

This is the softest and mildest title afforded.

Slaves to the mercantile interests, and monied interests in Britain, those *British agents*, and "*warm federalists*"—look on the *farmers* of America, as intended for their slaves here also.

Who labors harder and with more industry than the *farmer*?

Who better deserves the price he obtains for the produce of his farm—for the wheat, the barley, the flour, the corn, the pork, the poultry, or the fruits of the field?

Who are more contented, or who give less cause of uneasiness to their fellow citizens, than the *farmer*?

Who is less given to change?

Who work harder to bring a fair interest for their capitals than the *farmers*?

And yet the profligate emissary Cullen, boldly asserts, that their *cupidity* and *appetite for change*, exposes them to the insinuations of every Burr or traitor;—his *subscription list* belies his argument.

That they cannot be drawn to treason, or their own ruin, we should have thought the foolish labors of a Cobbett would have sufficiently proved.

When Burr applied to general Eaton, to become his subject and take a subordinate command, was it because he thought Eaton a *farmer*, that he applied to him? No; Burr, in his conversation plainly pointed out who were the men he expected to join him.

"Men above the dull pursuits of civil life."

Had general Eaton been a *farmer*, Burr would never have applied to him—and his application was a direct insult to Eaton, and to every other man of Eaton's profession.

But the proposition met the fate it deserved—Eaton spurned the traitor, and after *mature reflection* exposed the treason.

And every man who is not a *British agent* or one of Barclay's "*warmly federal*"—every man who is a *real citizen* of America will disclose all they know.

Ask the *Ogdens* of New York, who have been concerned in those conspiracies, if it was the *farmers* who embarked in *Miranda's* expedition? Did he beat up for volunteers among the farmers?

Who are the men that have left Pittsburgh to join Burr?

Not *farmers*—a kind of negative beings who call themselves gentlemen, whose business is laziness, and who abhor honest labor—many of whom are "*students of morality*."

And yet *British* hirelings "*warmly federal*" assert that *farmers* of America, are ready to follow any robber who offers to lead them to the mines of Mexico!

A *British spy*, one of Barclay's "*warmly federal*" adherents, talks of cupidity!

More impudent libels, or incitements to *war*, or any thing which can lead to *war*, or to embarrassment of the United States, never were to be expected in greater abundance than at the present moment.

The *British* influence never was lower than at this present moment—and such consuls as Barclay, and such emissaries as *Cullen*, are calculated to lay it prostrate—every American must pray that their right hands may never regain cunning.

Never were the *eyes* of our *farmers* more open to her intrigues.

And even the "*genuine federalists*" of Barclay are now in deep distress, withdrawing their support from her.

They see that nothing now is to be expected from her co-operations here, and their zeal and love begin to cool. *Cupidity* was the only motive of the attachment. But her consuls will still make the *presses* earn their unhallowed stipends—that they may preserve their places.

The *farmers* of America will, in proportion as they are true to themselves, be traduced, abused and libelled.

The effects of the *battle of Jena*, will be ten fold more injurious to the pride and tyranny of George III. than the subjugation of all the south of Europe.

Buenos Ayres is not again recaptured by the *British*—and her arms are not in possession of the south part of Spanish America, as they vainly dreamt.

Burr's conspiracy will be defeated, and her views on the northern part of Spanish America, are also foiled.

The *farmers* of the western country, are not disposed to be subjects of Great Britain, by her *viceroys* *Burr*.

The cruelties committed on our *farmers* during the revolution, the poisoning of thousands of *farmers*, in the Jersey prison ships at New York—do *Cullen*, or *Barclay*, when "*warmly federal*," feast their eyes with the bleached bones of our *farmers* and *farmers' sons* at the Wallabout?

The burning of our *farmers* at Wilkesbarre in *pease straw*, we

should have thought were sufficient proofs that *cupidity* would not withdraw them from the union—and not venture to call up the recollections of the farmers.

No. VIII.

SUPPOSE a farmer were to emigrate from the state of Pennsylvania, and settle in any other state of the union; and when there, he were to manage his farm in a wasteful and extravagant way, by a mode of agriculture unknown to the experienced farmers, and a mode not only in the end unprofitable to himself, but giving a bad example to his neighbours.

Suppose that farmer, when he went to the neighbouring market town to sell his produce, were not only not to conform to the modes, the laws, and customs of that town, but were to pursue such a cheating, tricking, extorting, and vexatious conduct, as eternally to bring himself into disputes with the inhabitants of the town he traded in—could it be expected that the farmers of the township he resided in, would interfere, or be a party in the disputes which his own dishonesty brought on him.

Certainly not: they would leave him to his bloody nose and broken pate, most deservedly, without at all interfering in quarrels which *did not concern them*.

Take the following cases:

When the British took *Buenos Ayres* there were a number, who called themselves *Americans*, settled there as traders; they enjoyed all the advantages of a neutral commerce, and could receive and dispose of merchandize, whether from the United States or direct from England—they could export or import from the whole world.

Not content with that privilege, and all the advantages of a neutral character, but directly on the British taking that city, a Mr. White, said to be of Boston, must enter into the *British service*, and that not only in a common service, but one of the most *offensive*—that of *prize agent*—an office which must have been particularly obnoxious to the *Spaniards*, as, *being a neutral*, it gave him an opportunity of being acquainted with mercantile adventures, which a British prize agent could not be expected to know, or could not possibly be in possession of.

If, then, *American merchants* settled in neutral countries, will take the *first* opportunity to shew an hostility to the nations which *England* is at war with, and enter into her service, is it at all extraordinary that *France* or *Spain* should lay restraints on the *American merchants*, acquainted also as they doubtless are with the general hostility and folly exhibited at our coffee houses.

Will our farmers go to war for such men—for men who care so little about our *national character*?

The British were driven from *Buenos Ayres*, they blockaded the port of *Monte Video*; and of course, the governor laid an embargo;

an American vessel, disregarding the orders, slipped out of port; the consequence was, that *every American vessel* was immediately ordered to deliver up their ships' papers, to unship their topmasts, to get all their yards upon deck.

Was this to be wondered at?

Will our farmers go to war for such men, so selfish and indifferent to national honor and character?

Last winter an embargo was laid on all vessels in the ports of Holland.

Some American ships, in violation of the embargo, had slipped their cables, and went to England with *information!*

The consequence was, that the most rigorous laws were immediately enacted for restraint of all *American vessels in future.*

The ship *Connecticut*, trading to St. Domingo, cut her cables and put to sea in defiance of the laws of that government.

Of course, *Desalines* ordered regulations, which subjected other American vessels to much inconvenience.

Now if *Americans* will thus set the laws of any nation they trade with at defiance, is it any wonder if *every* nation becomes suspicious of the whole body of *American merchants?*

Thus it is that our disputes with other nations arise; and the *British papers* and *agents* seize hold of those *just* restrictions, and without informing their readers of the cause—they basely add deception on the American people to the general fraud, and assert that *France* and *Spain* are laying wanton restrictions on our commerce.

When all those restrictions are occasioned by such conduct as we have enumerated.

The murder of *Pierce*, at New York, was turned into ridicule by the *federal* and *British* papers in that city, and a song was sung by one of the "*sainted pilgrims*," turning the murder of *Pierce* into mockery—it was

"Who killed Cock Robin, &c."

Is it for these men our *farmers* are called on to build navies, fortifications, and undertake systems of war?

The impressment of our *seamen*, and the blockade of our ports, is scarcely noticed in the federal papers.

Was Britain to refrain from the impressment of our citizens, of insulting our coasts—or interesting herself *effectually* in our internal politics—then her government would soon find that the *democratic prints* would have but little cause for an interference in her policy.

Let Britain but once cease to employ emissaries among us, and the *illicit trade* carried on with the enemies of Britain, by *British* and *Scotch* emigrants, would meet but with trifling defence.

British cruisers might then plunder them until they learned to respect neutral protection, it would be only dog devouring his fellow.

American *farmers* would not interest themselves for *British* robbing *British*.

But now Britain is insatuated enough to violate the indepen-

dence of the United States, those *British agents* who have skulked from their own country to avoid the expenses of a war, whose justice they are daily vociferating, and those Americans who are to all intents British, will screen themselves under the general indignation of America, to carry on a trade forbid by all the laws of nations, *as they stand at present*.

Those hints, whilst they are intended for our *farmers*, are particularly recommended to the English *ambassador* and *consuls*.

Would the merchants at the coffee houses generally support a war for the independence of the *neutral flag*, or to maintain that a neutral flag makes neutral property?

We say no, they would not.

France at least professes to advocate the universal rights of the free neutral flag—and an examination of the real interests and policy of France are in favor of the belief that she is in earnest, because it would be her interest, and in no respect against it.

If our merchants are disposed to go that length, then no doubt our *farmers* will unite in the burthens of war.

But no.

Any thing which France advocates is not right in the eyes of our “WARMLY FEDERAL” and *tory* merchants.

However much the *tories* and *British agents* may exclaim against France now, and pretend it is against Bonaparte only, it is not true.

The *American revolution* only it is they look to; their enmity against France is the hereditary enmity of Englishmen, aggravated by the recollection of the aid given to America by France.

The cabinet of Great Britain and George III. feels the loss of America now severely, in that proportion, will they now endeavor the ruin of America.

Had it not been for the revolution, we should have been surrounded by *tithes*, by *privileged colleges*, by *privileged church rules* and church wardens, visitations and *taxes*, by a *privileged clergy*—and *nobles of Nova Scotia*!

Would not many of our *federal gentlemen* have been among those *privileged barons*, and *knight*s, and *nobles*—and above the dull pursuits of civil life?

Would not a *British prince*, some hopeful son of George III. have been sent to rule over us, with body guards of such *Hessians* and *Hanoverians* as you vanquished at Trenton?

Would not a *standing army*, or a *legion of honor* have been produced for the *younger sons of the well born*, at your expense, to live in idleness, whilst the laws of *primogeniture* would have been established, and all the sons and daughters of a family been beggared, in order that one might be a traitor to the liberties of his countrymen, and the others thrown dependant on the monarchy for their pay, to cut the throats of the farmers, if they dare grumble at their oppressions.

This is done in Britain.

And because the *farmers* will not suffer this in the United States, it is that the *Cullens* and the spies of Britain foment sedition, to endeavor the ruin of America some how or other.

No. IX.

WE were about to change the direction of the discussions in these numbers, when the *Boston Chronicle* of the 15th instant, presented to us in a sound and well reasoned essay, under the signature of FRANKLIN, an exhibition of the politics of the U. States, and the views of her enemies, in an impressive point of view—from this essay we shall incorporate and adopt a few extracts.

“ There is a party in this country, who call themselves *federalists*. That party is headed and urged on by *leaders* who are *restless as the sea, cruel as the most fierce anger, and relentless as the grave*. Would those leaders avow the intended *consequences* of their *measures*, the great body of the party which now supports them, would retire, and leave them *to be execrated by the present age and by all posterity*. Their mantles of hypocrisy would fall from their shoulders; the marks of deceit would drop from their faces; their schemes of ambition and avarice would lie in the dust. They would be shunned as a wasting pestilence.

“ The leaders command their own and their party’s *wealth*; and which, in Massachusetts, and by an *artful change in the form of riches*, from individual to *corporate possessions*, embraces nearly the wealth of the whole state: at least *it turns its efficiency* to the use of those leaders in their dangerous and destructive influence.

“ Those disorganizing, traitorous leaders, induce their deceived party to maintain a great number of *gazettes* called by them *federal newspapers*. In those, the truth, in regard to the neutral and real interest of the country, can never be admitted. Slanders against the rulers of the nation, against the administration of government, and against foreign powers, fill *one half the columns*. The *other half* is devoted to eulogies on the English government, her fleets and troops—with a *manifest intention to disturb our neutral ground, and to involve us, as an ally of England, in her European contests*. Does any one doubt this, let him read their papers, and suppose that the nations abused and slandered, with their rulers, have the same feelings as we have, as all men have, and the most stubborn party prejudice must yield to the truth of the fact.

“ *What is this for?* Can it end in any thing of advantage to us as a republic? It certainly cannot. It may oppress us with the *expense of an army*; it may sink our wealth in the ocean under the *weight of a fleet*. It may turn our *ploughshares* into *swords*, and our *pruning hooks* into *spears*. It may shut the *streights of Gibraltar* against our *Mediterranean trade*, or furnish the *Italian dominions of France* there, the Spaniards at Cape Finisterre, and the Algerines, Tripolitans, and Tunisians, with ships *to destroy our commerce in those seas*. It may turn our numerous *Indian and China ships*, now duly arriving with incalculable riches, into fuel for the multitude perishing with poverty.

“ Whoever reads this, and wishes to know the truth, has the evidence under his own eye. He will reflect on the question,

whether he has not himself observed that some of his neighbours have appeared to be disappointed, when the news of hostilities with the Spaniards on the banks of the Mississippi or Sabine have been contradicted? Whether he has not seen men, who have cherished the hope of our engaging into war with Spain, as the most powerful stimulus to a daring project? If their wishes have proceeded from any other source than a British influence, let that source be pointed to. It is not contended that all who have cherished those destructive wishes, have acted from such base motives: they have, generally, been deceived by a few men, who have artfully concealed their wishes and designs. Yet these consequences are plain and undeniable. Spain is an ally of France, at war with England; France must support Spain against us; France has the possession of the Italian peninsula, of the states of Venice, of the United Provinces; with the Austrian and Prussian empires lying silent at her feet; and her emperor, who is every day, in the most impolitic, ungenerous, and abusive manner, made the sport of the federal papers, commands more troops, has more armies, and a greater revenue than any of the Roman Cæsars ever had. You will find those deceitful men who call themselves federalists, suggesting from one weak mind to another, THAT BONAPARTE WILL INVADE OUR COUNTRY. Yet they are pursuing every possible measure to induce him from resentment, raised by their perfidious politics, to undertake it. At the same moment they are prognosticating so terrible a calamity, they are using every art, guilty of every wicked measure that malice can conceive or falsehood spread, to weaken our union and to render our nation contemptible.

"If this is federalism, then federalism is the bane of our country; and will be, unless checked by the public opinion, the source of our destruction as a nation."

These sentiments are those of an honest and an enlightened mind; the principles laid down, and the inferences drawn from them are not controvertible. Put the case in another position which is here stated.

We have no national cause of complaint against France. France has manifested the most liberal dispositions towards the U. States.

The principles of our government, and the wishes of our people—the farmers, *seventeen twentieths* of the whole, are for "peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

The king of Prussia deemed a publication in a Paris newspaper deserving of official complaint by his ambassador.

The English government prosecuted in London, by their king's attorney general, a publisher of libels on the chief of the French nation.

As the above quoted writer pertinently observes; one half of certain papers in the United States are filled with slanders against a nation with which we are at peace, and the other half with eulogies, on a nation which is every day plundering, murdering, or molesting us.

These contradictory modes of conduct, FARMERS OF AMERICA, are pursued by the very men who continue the abuse of your government with the eulogies on the oppressive government of Britain.

What other *intention* or *view* can these persons contemplate, than the ruin of your prosperity and the sacrifice of your peace? If France acts with a magnanimity and forbearance towards the United States, which her policy and her knowledge of the policy of neighbouring nations, did not admit her to pursue towards them; it is only a new proof of the liberality of her views towards us.

But does it not also prove, that when those who seek to provoke hostility know these facts, that their conduct must be traced to *one* or *other* (or *both*) of two sources—their hatred of their own country and government, or their corruption by the government they eulogise.

It is not compatible with *virtue*.

To eulogize the oppressor—and to vilify the liberal.

The evil then cannot be traced to any source that is not wicked; and were it possible to attribute it to any thing short of absolute depravity and corruption; still does it the more demand the precaution of the *farmers of America*.

We must then follow the system up to its source—for it is an uniform system—when Cobbett was acting the part of a *British spy* in this city; his chief supporters were the *federalists*, and the official agents of England; every Thursday night Cobbett spent with Liston, at his house in Arch street.

On Cobbett's return to England, those bosom friends and supporters, the *federalists*, were the persons on whom he lavished the most abuse, in his general defamation of the American character.

When Cobbett was here, the subject of the cruelties committed by the British government in India on the editor of the *Aurora*, was a constant treat from his pen, to the depraved appetite of *federalism*.

Since *Cobbett's* return, he has not only exposed the injustice of the English government in India, but asserts that for want of a *free press*, for the attempt to establish which *Duane* was banished, is the only cause to which might be attributed an India debt of 33,000,000 sterl. but the present disastrous state of *British India* in general.

When *Cobbett* resided here, he constantly contrasted the *misery* of the mechanics in America, with the *happiness* of the same classes in Britain.

Since he returned, he informs us that the whole class of mechanics are *paupers*, and that they have in Britain 1,000,000 persons who are dependent on charity for relief, not men who cannot labor—but men, whose wages paid them by the *aristocracy* of Britain, are not even equal to the purchase of the *coarsest food*, by which to support their wretched existence—and that when sent to their *poor houses*, their sufferings are greater than those of the *negroes* in the *middle passage*, when packed up by all the refinement of mercantile cupidity.

When Cobbett was in Philadelphia he daily pandered to the appetites of federalism, by representing the independence of the middle classes of merchants and tradesmen in Britain, the *defendance* and wretchedness of the same ranks in this country.

Since his return home, he assures his former *friends*, that the taxes in Britain are to be collected at the point of the bayonet—and that it is indifferent by whom they are collected, whether by *French* or *British* bayonets!!

When Cobbett was here, the virtues and blessings of monarchy were the constant themes by which he reached the pockets of *tories*, *British agents*, and *anglo-federalists*.

Since his return home, *Paine* himself, or *Duane*, or any writer, however “inveterate in hostility to Britain or to monarchy,” (as the Boston Palladium has it,) could not have lavished on monarchy more desperate wounds—the assassination which he has recommended to the British government to employ on *Duane*—he is himself applying to that government.

When Cobbett was earning the wages of his *baseness* and *hypocrisy* here, then with our *tories* and *anglo-federalists*, he was what they call “a gentleman,” a bottle companion for the best of them—and no doubt he was a *fit companion*!

Now that *Cobbett* has returned home and put by the *mask*—now that he is telling the *truth* and the *whole truth*—now that he is painting his former bosom friends to the world in their *true colours*—now he is telling the truth of *Duane*—now he is giving a just and true picture of the situation of the poor in England, and of the middling tradesmen—now he is representing the *unfathomable rapacity* of the royal something* in Britain, called a king—now that he is placing in their true colours the hopeful progeny of the broods of royal *whores* and *bustards*—now it is, whilst Cobbett is telling the truth, that the best expression his former friends can afford him is—*Cobbett is a damned scoundrel*!

When *Cobbett* was here, the avowed adherent, the *spy* and *emissary* of the British government—and the *dear friend* of federalism, then he was indeed entitled to the appellation now bestowed on him.

Cobbett's present conduct, is, however, some atonement to America, for the wrongs he has done her.

However, if we consider thoroughly the whole life and conduct of *Cobbett*, there are some excuses to be made for him; he had been in the *ranks* of the British army; he had been trained to *obey*, to be *fed*, and to be *clothed*, in the name of a thing called a king—and to look upon this *thing* as the only fountain of honor—indeed he was exactly in the situation of scores of *counter bred* Englishmen who frequent our coffee houses and look mighty—ridiculous!—who, having had their *porter* bought, and their *bread* and *cheese* cut for them whilst at home—know not any thing of their own country or its government, but what they are bid to believe here by some consular agent; but having commenced their career of *feeding*, and *clothing*, and *carving* for themselves in this

* So Horne Tooke has it—*res a thing, rex a king*.

country, foolishly persuaded themselves, that England is as free from *taxes*, and household expenses as they find it here—to such we would recommend the experience of re-emigration—and like Cobbett, after a life of stupid and passive credulity; they will be, from the mere necessity of the case, obliged to think and confess their ignorance and their folly, as he has done.

Cobbett was initiated into all those ideas, when the offer of *British pay* was again held out to him in the service of his *old master*—he then threw by the *regimentals of the soldier*, for the detestable *living* and garb of a *spy*—and if we may judge from his present writings—he must have felt some remorse, on reflecting by what falsehoods he had earned his share of “*expended millions*,” and merited his statue of gold.

Cobbett also found that *hypocrisy* was his only passport to the confidence of federalism—he knew that whilst they were hugging him to their bosoms—his *duty* was, like the viper, to sting them to death.

So long as his services were deemed useful to the British government, and he did not expose himself by exhibiting the cloven foot too plainly, he was continued at his post.

But when his connection with Liston was exposed by this paper; and when Liston himself was exposed in the conspiracy of Blount, and the attempt to bribe gen. Elijah Clarke, Cobbett was recalled; and to complete his services, his press in London was employed to lavish on his *old federal friends*, the same abuse and worse, which they had encouraged him whilst in Philadelphia, to load on our government and the *farmers of America*.

Just such another character, without any of the strength of mind of Cobbett, without that frankness which goes along with the character, after it has overcome early ignorance—but with all his *views*, is that British spy and emissary Cullen, of New York. Like Cobbett, whilst at Philadelphia, the “warm federalists” of New York, as Mr. Barclay, the British consul, calls the adherents of England—they are supporting and playing into the hands of the *Windhams* and *Grenvilles* of Britain, and the *Barclays* and *Bonds* of America—and like Cobbett, will *that fellow with the wrong name* return to that country which enslaves *his own country*—and join the band of spies, the Cobbetts, the Welds, the Moores, the Parkinsons, in their abuse and defamation of the American character—whom, in some respects they expose justly, for they collected their ideas of American virtue from the *warm* federalism with which they associated.

This sketch of two emissaries, was necessary to present to the FARMERS of AMERICA, a fair comparison of the similarity of the past and present system; and to shew the congruity which has uniformly prevailed between the efforts of the *open and avowed* emissary—the *official agent*—the “*warmly federal*” politician; and the presses which are of their LEAGUE.

Their common object, FARMERS of America is hostility to you under every circumstance; England has failed to conquer you by force—and her fraud has recoiled upon her—she now wishes to em-

broil you, as she has embroidered *Holland, Genoa, Florence, Venice, Naples, Sardinia, Prussia, Austria*—You know what has been their fate, and they had originally no more cause or right or provocation to attack France than you have now. These are truths, that defy denial—because they can be demonstrated by the most formal and authentic proofs.



No. X.

THE history of the American nation since the establishment of the federal constitution, begins now to assume shape and volume. It is a very interesting history to all the world, and the farmers of America cannot study it with too much attention. With all its defects, (for it has defects, and what human institution has not?) it is the most pleasing object of historical contemplation in the annals of the world. The *people of America* only want one quality, which every other nation on earth possesses,—that is, that the *love of country* should be *felt* superior to every other consideration. This trait of *national character* is wanting; and so much is it wanting, that it is the cause of a great many evils which the nation would not be otherwise exposed to. In the preceding number, we have given examples of the fact, in pointing out the conduct of men calling themselves *Americans*, but acting like *pirates* or *emissaries* of foreign countries.

The *farmers of America*, must be exonerated from any participation, in this shame, or in the injuries that flow from it: and it must also be added (and lamented) that it is from the acts and deeds of those who are engaged in foreign commerce, that our *country*, its *morals* and *character*, is judged by foreign nations: and by the acts of public men, of what is called the learned professions; from the sentiments and talents of our legislators; and from the conduct and policy of our statesmen.

Among the causes of the want of a consistent *national character*, no doubt, the early situation of these states as colonies, the habits acquired from connection and language, and the remains of a *common* mode of civil regulation, greatly contribute.

But had many of those who embarked in the revolution been so sincerely devoted to principles of public liberty, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as they were to pursuits of *individual* ambition, many impediments would have been removed from the establishment of national happiness and a national character.

But men who either aimed to be despots like *Hamilton*, or who were disappointed like *Burr*; or who vainly conceived that they could write mankind out of their senses and their liberties, like *Adams* and other anti-democratic authors; also retarded the formation of a *national character*.

These and such men, though they did not accomplish their de-

signs, but ultimately sunk into merited obscurity, for the attempts they made; they nevertheless greatly injured the nation.

They seduced the people from the principles of the revolution, plain, natural, and obvious; into subtlety and absurdity; they discussed *paradox* and thereby prevented the application of *common sense* to the national affairs; they talked of *balances* and *holes* for privileged orders; as if giving a man a false name, gave him more wisdom; or as if placing a man or a number of men above all control or check, was the best way of making a balance; or as if creating causes of enmity and jealousy, were the best means of producing confidence and unanimity.

They talked of a national debt as a national blessing—as if a nation any more than an individual, must be happy and independent in proportion as he rioted on the property of others, and put himself out of the possibility of paying them or their heirs, to the third or fourth generation.

But all these injurious proceedings, which were sometimes the effect of personal vanity, and at others of imbecility, and in others of foreign corruption, generally ended in referring the *people* to the *example of England and her government*.

Perhaps of all the evils which have existed or can exist, there is none so much to be apprehended, nor any that has been so prejudicial to the liberty, peace, and happiness of America, as the government of England, its example, and its influence. War is the Scylla, but the English government is the Charybdis of America—both to be alike deprecated, and shunned.

On this theme, Americans should be every day warned—and the morning orison, and the matin ejaculation of every American child should be—"O save my country, thou good Providence, from the afflictions of war, but above all from the example of England." As the English history is in the chronology of the world, only a volume written before our own; and as all history is intended for admonition, and to teach mankind wisdom from past example; it is very important for Americans, for the farmers of America, to know the real character, the operation, and the effect of that government which has been recommended as the most stupendous fabric of human wisdom.

Whatever may be pretended, it is evident that the happiness of the English people is not the object of that government—that a national debt is a national blessing, we cannot believe, because, according to *Cobbett*, there are not less than *one million of paupers* depending on the charity of the rest—this is the consequence of the national debt; no doubt that million is the minority—but it remains to be seen if the majority, that are not paupers, are better off than we are, under our simple form of government.

To exhibit the *blessings of the majority* of the English people, we conceive cannot be ungrateful to those who admire them *at a distance*—and in our following numbers we will exhibit the blessings of taxes in Britain, as published in *Kearsley's tax tables* for 1806.—The American farmer we shall leave to judge for himself, if he is disposed to accept of those or such *blessings* as are so much extolled by persons "*warmly federal*."

This list of taxes is highly instructive and interesting to the

American farmer, whether he considers it as the object presented for his preference to our government, or as the consummation of a system which we had begun to imitate about eight or nine years ago.

They are called the *assessed taxes*, that is, taxes directly assessed, and levied on the *persons* and *property* of individuals, exclusive of the *land tax*, *poor rates*, *church taxes*, *road tax*, *tithes*, (a great national blessing) *import* and *export duties*, *militia fines*, and *duties*, and a thousand others.

Well, now for “the *blessings of taxes*”—first comes the **WINDOW TAX**—that is, a tax on the light which shines through any *glass*, or *opening*, or *sky light*, or *borrowed light* in a *passage* or *cellar*, or *garret* or *kitchen*, or indeed any other building.

You may recollect, farmers, that upon the foundation of internal taxes, you were already twice menaced with military execution: the disturbance called the *hot water war*, arose in fact from the preparations making without any *legal authority* to form an estimate for a *window tax*; one of the tax officers undertook to measure the windows of a house in *Berks county*, in this state; a *female*, indignant at the idea of taxing the *light of heaven*, and understanding that no law authorised the measurement of the windows, opened a sash on the second floor, and poured the *contents* of a *chamber utensil* on the head of a tax officer—this was the *beginning of the war*—and from the species of artillery used, emphatically styled the *hot water war*.

We may see from what follows of the English window tax—what we might have expected—from a successful *imitation* of the example set forth for us.

WINDOW TAX.

For every house and its appurtenances, of £.5 a year rent, £0 6 0 sterl. a year.

For every house with	Per annum.	For every house with	Per annum.
6 windows,	£0 8 9	28 windows,	£16 0 0
7 do	0 18 0	29 do	16 15 0
8 do	1 10 0	30 do	17 10 0
9 do	1 18 0	31 do	18 5 0
10 do	2 10 0	32 do	19 0 0
11 do	3 5 0	33 do	19 15 0
12 do	4 0 0	34 do	20 10 0
13 do	4 15 0	35 do	21 5 1
14 do	5 10 0	36 do	22 0 0
15 do	6 5 0	37 do	22 15 0
16 do	7 0 0	38 do	23 10 0
17 do	7 15 0	39 do	24 5 0
18 do	8 10 0	40 to 44 do	25 15 0
19 do	9 5 0	45 49 do	28 5 0
20 do	10 0 0	50 54 do	30 15 0
21 do	10 15 0	55 59 do	33 5 0
22 do	11 10 0	60 64 do	35 9 0
23 do	12 5 0	65 69 do	37 9 0
24 do	13 0 0	70 74 do	39 9 0
25 do	13 15 0	75 79 do	41 9 0
26 do	14 10 0	80 84 do	43 9 0
27 do	15 5 0	85 89 do	45 9 0

For every house with	Per annum.	For every house with	Per annum.
90 to 94 windows,	47 9 0	140 to 149 windows,	68 9 0
95 99 do	49 9 0	150 159 do	72 9 0
100 109 do	52 9 0	160 169 do	76 9 0
110 119 do	56 9 0	170 179 do	80 9 0
120 129 do	60 9 0	180 and upwards,	83 0 0
130 139 do	64 9 0		

And for every house with more than 180 windows or lights, for each window, 2 shillings and 6 pence.

Scotland is rated about 2 shillings in the pound lower for the light of heaven than England.

EXEMPTIONS.—(any one who wishes to consider the full force of this head, should consider an article published in the *Aurora* on the 25th of October, from Cobbett's Political Register, concerning the *royal civil list*!) all houses belonging to *his majesty* or *any* of the royal family.

HOUSE TAX.

For every dwelling house whose rent charge shall be above £5 and under twenty pounds a year, (a tax of)	s 1 4 in the pound.
For £20 and under £40	2 0
For £40 and upwards	2 6

EXEMPTIONS.—Every house belonging to his majesty, or *any* of the royal family!

MALE SERVANTS—Class I.

For 1 male servant,	-	-	-	£2 0 0
2 male servants,	-	-	-	2 10 0
3 do.	-	-	-	3 0 0
4 do.	-	-	-	3 10 0
5 do.	-	-	-	4 0 0
6 do.	-	-	-	4 4 0
7 do.	-	-	-	4 6 0
8 do.	-	-	-	4 12 0
9 do.	-	-	-	5 0 0
10 do.	-	-	-	5 10 0
11 and upwards,	-	-	-	6 6 0

Unmarried men to pay an additional sum of £1 10 shillings on each servant.

The enumeration of the *titles* of servants in those classes, is amusing—the first class comprehends maitre d'hotel, house steward, master of the horse, groom of the chamber, valet de chambre, butler, under butler, clerk of the kitchen, confectioner, cook, house porter, footman, running footman, coachman, groom, postilion, stable boy, or keeper, gardener, park keeper, game keeper, huntsman, whipperin; waiters in taverns and boarding houses.

MALE SERVANTS—Class II.

Gardeners employed to work in a garden under any person chargeable in the first class, where the constant labor of one person is required, £5 per year. Day laborers exempted.

MALE SERVANTS—Class III.

A rider in the service of a merchant, when only one is employed	£2 2 0
Where more than one	3 3 0
Book-keeper, or clerk	1 1 0
Where more than one, for each	2 2 0
Every shop-man, warehouse-man	1 1 0
Every waiter in a tavern, or eating house	2 0 0
Every horse groom	1 1 0
Every servant retained for the purposes of husbandry	0 5 0

MALE SERVANTS—*Class IV.*

Every coachman, groom, postilion, or keeper, retained by persons keeping horses or coaches for hire - - - 2 0 0

And every man who cleans a pair of shoes for his employer, is deemed a servant.

EXEMPTIONS.—The royal family, the universities, hospitals, officers not receiving pay of field officers, disabled officers, army or navy.

CARRIAGES.

Class I.—With four wheels.

By the owners of one carriage the annual sum of	£10 0 0
Do. 2 carriages - - - - -	11 0 0
Do. 3 do. - - - - -	12 0 0
Do. 4 do. - - - - -	12 10 0
Do. 5 do. - - - - -	13 0 0
Do. 6 do. - - - - -	13 10 0
Do. 7 do. - - - - -	14 0 0
Do. 8 do. - - - - -	14 10 0
Do. 9 do. - - - - -	15 0 0
For every additional body, used in the same carriage	5 0 0

Class II.—Carriages with less than four wheels.

Every such carriage, (except taxed carts, constructed, kept, and used under this act) drawn by one horse, mare, or gelding, and no more - - - - -	£5 5 0
Drawn by two horses, mares, or geldings - - - - -	7 7 0
For every additional body to the same carriage - - - - -	2 10 0

Within these two classes are comprehended the following descriptions—coach, berlin, landau, chariot, calash, chaise marine, chaise sociable, caravan with four wheels (alias Jersey waggon), chaise, curricule, chair, car—and keeping without using renders the owner as liable as if used, even though kept only to be disposed of.

Class III.—Carriages for hire.

Every carriage kept for hire, with horses, and for less time than a year, four wheels, annually - - - - -	£8 8 0
Less than four wheels, according to the rules of the second class and number of horses.	
Every coach, diligence, caravan, chaise, &c. kept as a public stage, - - - - -	8 8 0
Every carriage kept for hire for a period less than a year,	

Class IV.—Taxed carts.

Carriages built of wood and iron, drawn by one horse, without any other than a tilted covering—without hinge or springs, with a fixed seat, and without slings or braces or any other ornaments than paint of a dark color for preservation—and on which must be visibly painted the words “TAXED CART,” and the owner’s name, on a black ground in white letters, or on a white ground in black letters—each of the letters a full inch in length and of due proportion in breadth, - - - - - £1 4 0

EXEMPTIONS.—All carriages belonging to his majesty or any of the royal family.

Class V.—Coachmakers.

Every maker of coaches or carriages, annual duty - - - - -	£0 5 0
Every carriage made for sale, of four wheels - - - - -	1 0 0
Of two wheels - - - - -	0 10 0

Class VI.—Sellers of carriages by auction, or on commission:

Every such seller, annual duty, or licence	-	-	-	£0	5	0	
Beside for every carriage sold with four wheels	-	-	-	1	0	0	
Do.		two wheels	-	-	0	10	0

STAMPS.

Stamp on the contract of a solicitor, clerk, or attorney in the courts of Westminster	-	-	-	£110	0	0
In any other part of England or Wales	-	-	-	55	0	0
Assignment of articles	-	-	-	1	10	0
Admittance of attorney, clerk, advocate, proctor, notary, or other officer, in any court in England	-	-	-	20	0	0
Solicitor, attorney, &c. &c. if not admitted three years, yearly	-	-	-	10	0	0
If three years or more, yearly	-	-	-	10	0	0
Any other part of Great Britain but London, yearly	-	-	-	3	3	0
If three years and more, yearly	-	-	-	6	0	0
Special pleaders, draftsmen in equity, conveyancer's certificate, yearly	-	-	-	10	0	0

The farmers of America will remember that the first introduction of those taxes was in a *trifling degree*—just as in *John Adams's* days, when it was said—“what seditious rascals, why it is *only a penny stamp*, *only a trifling tax on whiskey*, *only an exciseman* or “two just calling, *only now* and then, *only just to see how you do.*”

So it was the argument of the *tories*, that Britain *only* wished to collect a *few pence* a pound on tea—’twas but a trifle, not worth while for the ragged rabble of Boston to grumble about—or, as the pious Connecticut “*warm federalists*” say, the “*tag rag.*”—Britain did it *only* for the good of America—to strengthen the chain of connection!

So was the *land tax* laid on, on the first landing of *William of Nassau*, from *Holland*—it was *only* to last for a year or two—the unsuspecting farmers of England were duped, and the land tax is now perfectly four shillings in the *pound*, on all the land in Great Britain—*only* because the farmer *once gave way to internal taxation.*

The first adoption of this *land tax* was from *foreigners*, and foreign connections—Britain sent to *Holland* for a *thing to make a king*, the Hanoverian *thing* followed and completed the ruin of the *farmer.*

Those *foreigners* brought with them *foreign* ideas, and Britain was soon involved in *foreign wars*, and *foreign alliances*—you need not be told of the recent effects.

It is from this lesson of *ruin and destruction* that the spies and emissaries of Britain preach up the examples of *foreign alliances*, and *foreign wars*, and *foreign nations*, and *taxes*, and *national debts*, and *fortifications*, to the American people—they know that these things have occasioned the ruin of Britain—and that the same course would produce the same effects here also; and as they want to ruin America, they advise a course which they know will ruin her.

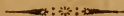
From foreign alliances, and hearkening to *foreigners* who excited to war, Britain was 70 years of the last century involved in war. Yet it is “*warmly federal*” to call a national debt a blessing—of course war must be a greater blessing—for the debt is occo-

sioned by the war—and if the effect is a blessing, the cause must be still a greater blessing.

To what dreadful *blasphemies* do such principles tend to lead its stupid besotted advocates.

And yet thousands, who pretend to *religion*, who hear and read these words, will reply—"well, how can Britain do without *taxes*?" Just as well may the *highwayman* defend *murder*, because he had determined to rob, as for Britain to make this excuse.

Farmers of America, if you once submit and give way to internal taxation, unless for the promotion of improvement in your interior, those who will live on your industry in collecting taxes, will soon ruin you with expenses, and then tell you—you cannot now do without taxes.



No. XI.

THE foundation of all society being the mutual good of all those who compose the society; the means by which that good is most effectually obtained and secured must be the best means. The experience of all times affords every man, with the least ability to think, the means of forming his own opinions. No topics are more easy to be understood—and on none can so much information be had as on politics. The elements are the simplest of human concerns, and although artifice and wickedness have, for ages, succeeded in blinding the bulk of mankind to their *rights*, *interests*, and *power*; the subject is not after all so much concealed from the understanding, but that it may be approached, handled, and used.

As the establishment of the good of all the members of a society, state, or nation, is allowed even by despots to be their interest and their object in governing, it does not follow that their variation, in practice, from their professions, renders the practice reasonable or consistent. The acknowledgements of despots are, in this instance, a plain confession of what their conduct ought to be; and that the *rights* of *mankind* are eternal, and form, in truth, the first principle of human society. Every channel into which reason travels you discover the same principle under one form or another. It is that principle recognized by all legislators, only assuming different shapes under different circumstances—the *right of SELF-PRESERVATION*.

The right of SELF-PRESERVATION is not disputed by any species of government—and it extends from the right of a man to defend himself against an assassin, as well as against a bear or a tyger.

The formation of society, is only a more extensive application of the right of *self protection*—it is numbers associating to protect each and every of the associators, against a number of *bears* or *assassins*. No doubt those who rule despotically over an ignorant

or corrupt people, make wars without occasion or necessity; but such is the force of the *natural principles* of general and special protection, that the greatest tyrant affects to be governed by the universal principle of self defence, by holding forth wars and all their concomitants, as *necessary to the protection* or existence of the *state*.

It requires no stretch of discernment to discover, that whenever a society is placed in such a state, by those who either rule, or who are delegated to preserve society secure and happy, as that they could be no worse under the fear of *bears* or *assassins*; that the end of constituting society is totally frustrated and destroyed; the order is reversed, and the dissolution of such a society is not so surprising as its existence. A state of society where millions are debased and degraded, and a few aggrandized in lazy luxury and vicious idleness, must be exposed to miseries the most repugnant to the received axioms of humanity and morals; and taking their situation into a comparison of effects with causes, the convulsion of a day or a year, or ten or twenty years, is not so terrible as the silent and secret horrors of ages of protracted wars, miseries and desolations, excited by ambition, and never ending in the alleviation but augmenting human afflictions.

These, FARMERS OF AMERICA, are reflections which arise on a consideration of the TAXES and *oppressed* condition of a nation whose history forms the first volumes of your own; and whose example is, with a wickedness next to impiety, daily and in every shape presented to you as a model of wisdom, and as the only example worthy of your imitation.

All human concerns, are best understood by comparison; it is the basis of the reasoning power. You should ask, as politicians and as men solicitous to preserve happiness to yourselves and posterity—you should ask, when any public object, foreign or domestic, is preferred to your judgment—*Cui bono? What good is it to produce? What was the necessity? What was the cause? Could it not be done without?* Questions like these lead to a proper understanding; and unless you ask such questions and examine them, it is impossible that you can ever judge of public measures, or derive any advantage from history or experience.

Ask the question—*Why did Great Britain endeavor to tax the United States?* The answer is a volume of useful instruction for you; compare the effects on yourselves with similar effects on others. What good did her efforts to enslave this continent produce?—Was there a necessity? Could it be done without? These questions all answer themselves. And they apply equally to the whole of the wars in which she was engaged for *seventy years* of the last century? But a question is passed—*what was the cause? What the effect?*

The cause was that the people, who *fight, suffer and pay* for all wars, suffered the power to be wrested from their hands. The interests of their peace and happiness they trusted for *too long a time* to deputies; and the people became supine from the want of a prompt and adequate control. The cause was then in the wicked-

ness of the public agents, and the weakness of judgment and want of precaution and discernment in the people; the effect, enormous debts, taxes and gain.

The same principles apply universally—to all governments as well as that of England—and if you do not take warning, and precaution, FARMERS OF AMERICA, it will be your fate likewise. Be you watchful, jealous, but generous in rewarding those who serve you faithfully—inflexibly and eternally shut out from your confidence. any man who once betrays you, or who, to serve a petty purpose of his own, sacrifices your rights and interests.

We have thought these reflections necessary in accompanying our continuation of the view of *English taxes*—and the *American farmer* will, as he goes along, ask at each item, *Cui bono?*—And he will, on recurring, at leisure, to history, find answers in the ambition of kings, the corruption of courtiers, the profligacy of statesmen, and the degradation and ignorance of the people. Ask yourselves how you should like to see your horses taxed at the following rates—which is now the tax paid under the government which is held out to you as an example:—

TAX ON HORSES.

For one horse, mare, or gelding, kept for riding or drawing a carriage chargeable with the carriage duty, or hired for one year or more, per annum, £2 8 0			
For 2 years,	£4 0 0	For 12 years,	5 5 0
3	4 8 0	13	5 5 6
4	4 11 0	14	5 5 6
5	4 12 0	15	5 5 6
6	4 16 0	16	5 5 6
7	4 18 0	17	5 6 0
8	4 18 0	18	5 6 5
9	5 0 0	19	5 7 0
10	5 5 0	20	5 8 0
11	5 5 0		

Class II.—Horses let to hire.

For every one let to hire for any period less than a year	£2 8 0
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Class III.—Racers.

For every racer or running horse	2 8 0
Another class, comprehends horses, mares, geldings, and mules, of an inferior value—annual charge	0 12 6
Inferior rack rent, tenant's horses	0 2 6
A distinction is made in favor of Scotland and Wales, where two horses of the latter description are taxed	2 6
Horses not of 13 hands (of 4 inches) high not chargeable.	

EXEMPTIONS—Horses, &c. of the king and any of the royal family—post masters, poor rectors and vicars, volunteer officers.

Look at this last paragraph of exemptions—and consider the amount of the sums paid out of the sweat of the brows, and the produce of the lands, to the English royal family;—but you forget these things; they have been published in the newspapers—you have read them, and forget them; we shall refresh your memory when we close this series. The next is the dogs—and even the royal dogs appear to be among the *best blood* of the nation, for they are a *privileged order*!

DOGS.

For every greyhound, hound pointer, setter, spaniel, lurcher, terrier, where more than two are kept £ 0 10 0
 For every dog not of these descriptions, where there is only one . . . 0 6 0

EXEMPTIONS—The king's dogs and other dogs of the royal family—persons who keep packs of dogs may compound for £ 30 a year.

HORSE DEALERS.

Every trader or dealer in horses in London and its precincts, annual licence £ 20 0 0
 In any other part of England 10 0 0

HAIR POWDER.

Every person who wears or has worn powder in the hair, annual sum 1 1 0

EXEMPTIONS—The king and royal family, and their servants—officers in army or navy—poor clergymen.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

The American reader is to understand this to be a privilege for wearing a kind of *barbarous hieroglyphics* called *heraldic or armorial devices*—as a tax upon folly, perhaps it is the only laudable tax in the book—but even his majesty and all the royal family are exempted from this tax—the ordinary annual fee for this folly is, for Every coach upon which the hieroglyphics are painted, . . . £ 2 2 0

The next specimen of the *stupendous fabric* of human wisdom—is the property tax, it abounds with matter for your questions.—Do not pass those subjects over like a game at whist or cribbage. They concern you more than your amusements, for they go to the root of human society; and as the *farmer is wise or foolish*, must the root prosper or perish—there is no other chance.

Class I.—PROPERTY TAX.

On landlords, for all lands, tenements, &c. for every 20 shillings annual value thereof, 10 per cent. or two shillings.

Class II.

The annual value of all the properties described to be the full amount for one year of the profits received.

1. Of all tithes belonging to any *lay improPRIATOR*, if taken in kind, on an average of three preceding years.
2. Of all dues in lieu of tithes (not arising from lands) belonging to any *improPRIATOR*.
3. On all tithes (arising from lands) if compounded for.
4. On manors and royalties, on an average of the seven preceding years.
5. On fines in consideration of a demise of lands.
6. On all other profits arising from lands.

Class III.

Where the annual value is to be understood to be the full amount for one year on the average profits.

All tithes belonging to ecclesiastics—average of preceding years.

All dues in right of a church endowment, &c.

All quarries of stone, slate, lime stone, or amount profits preceding year.

Mines of coal, tin, lead, copper, mundic, iron, and other mines on an average of 5 years.

Iron works, salt springs or works, alum mines or works, water works, streams of water, canals, inland navigation, docks, drains, and levels, fishings, rights of markets, fairs, tolls, ways, bridges, ferries, and other concerns.

TENNANT'S TAX.

For all dwelling houses, lands, &c. charged an annual rent, for every *twenty shillings*, one shilling and six pence.

TAX ON DIVIDENDS.

Upon all profits arising from *annuities, dividends and shares of annuities*, payable to any person, societies, or corporate body, out of every 20 shillings—two shillings.

Upon the annual profits or gains accruing to *any person* residing in Great Britain, from any property whatever, in or out of Great Britain—out of every 20 shillings, 2 shillings.

Upon the annual profits or gains accruing to any person, whether subjects of his Britannic majesty or not, although not resident in Great Britain, *from any property whatever* in Great Britain, or any profession, trade, employment or vocation exercised in Great Britain—two out of every twenty shillings.

Duty on all annual interest not otherwise charged, upon all annuities, yearly interest of money, payable within or out of Great Britain—two out of every 20 shillings.

Upon every public employment of profit, annuity, pension, stipend, payable out of the public revenue, two shillings out of every 20 shillings.

No. XII.

LORD Chatham, whose sagacity and genius every one must acknowledge, however loosely they may consider his morality and integrity, saw very early the effects of the inordinate lust of dominion, and the blindness with which the British government pursued every species of taxation, which the ingenuity of power could foster, and poverty devise. He very early remonstrated against the course pursued by the British cabinet. When an application was made to the minister of the day, (lord North, 1774), to qualify or alter certain particulars in the hostile system adopted; lord North said—“*It is vain to make objections, the king will have it so!*—*His majesty is determined to try the question with America.*”

Farmers of America, the question was *tried*, and it now remains with you to *reap the fruits* of the trial. It cost great expense and many lives; what has the *loser* gained? The taxes which we are exhibiting in these papers are only *parts of the effects*—the wars of the last fifteen years are in a great measure to be attributed to the same causes.

To try the question at that period, the same system was pursued which has been pursued since. "The system pursued by lord *Bute*, that of hiring numbers of newspapers, and writers, in "England, and on the continent, [and in *America*] and publishing "a number of pamphlets." The writers of that day, so employed, have been, some of them, men of great literary qualifications—Dr. *Sam Johnson*, sir *John Dalrymple*, *James Macpherson*, *Stewart*, *Lind*, *Knox*, (of South Carolina) *Mauduit*, &c. &c.

Having mentioned lord Chatham, we shall quote a sentiment of his, pertinent to present circumstances and the discussion in hand; it is contained in a letter from lord Chatham to *Stephen Sayre*, one of the sheriffs of London, and is dated August 15, 1774:

"Every step on the side of government (the English) seems calculated to drive 'the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of liberty 'in that vast continent, at one blow; but millions must perish before the seeds 'of freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favorable a soil; and in the mean 'time devoted England must sink herself under the ruins of her own foolish and 'devoted system of destruction."

Another from a speech in January, 1775:—

"You may destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps 'the conveniences of life; but they are prepared to despise your power, and 'would not lament their loss while they have—What? my lords! their woods 'and their liberty."

It is remarkable that on the introduction of the American *stamp act* into the British parliament, there was only *one member* that had the resolution and the honesty to stand up and vote against it—that was general *Conway*.

These little historical illustrations are offered at once to relieve the *dryness* of an odious subject, that of the tax on stamps, and to call the attention of the *farmer* to study at his leisure those *histories*, in which are described the origin and progress of those great events which have placed America in a situation superior to any nation on the globe.

The following is a sketch of the *stamp duties* paid in England:—and from a subjection to which you *first* escaped by the revolution of 1776, and next from a revolution of party in 1800.

STAMPS.

Stamp on the contract of a solicitor, clerk or attorney in the courts of Westminster,	£ 110 0 0
In any other part of England or Wales,	55 0 0
Assignment of articles,	1 10 0
Admittance of attorney, clerk, advocate, proctor, notary, or other officer, in any court in England,	20 0 0
Solicitor, attorney, &c. &c. if not admitted three years, yearly,	10 0 0
If three years or more, yearly,	10 0 0

* This incident recalls to our memory the case of *Stephen Sayre*, a man who remains to this hour *unpaid for money* expended on *public service* during our revolution, and against whom *toryism* and *English* influence have kept up from that day to this an hostility that goes very near to verify the opprobrium of *ingratitude* cast upon republics.—Mr. Sayre's claims are not for *reward*, (which by the bye he has a fair claim to) but for *money actually laid out!*

Any other part of Great Britain but London, yearly,	£ 3 3 0
If three years and more, yearly,	6 0 0
Special pleaders, draftsmen in equity, conveyancers' certificate, yearly,	0 10 0
Warrant to any attorney, &c. to defend a suit to the value of 40 shillings;—stamp	0 5 0
A writ or mandate out of any court in Westminster,	0 5 0
Bail, special or common, in any court,	0 2 6
Bail bond,	0 2 6
Assignment of bail,	0 2 6
Recognizance,	1 0 0
Appearance in an action,	0 2 6
Declaration, plea, replication, each,	0 0 4
Copy thereof,	0 0 4
Every sheet in plea, &c. over the first sheet,	0 0 4
Record of nisi prius, or postea,	0 10 0
Judgment of court,	0 10 0
Inquisition before a sheriff,	0 10 0
Writ of error, or writ of certiorari,	1 0 0
Entry of action in mayor's court,	0 2 6
Affidavit in court of law,	0 2 6
Copy do.	0 2 6
Affidavits out of court,	0 2 0
Bill, answer, plea, replication, or any other pleading in equity,	0 5 0
Copy thereof,	0 0 4
For every <i>ninety words</i> above the <i>first ninety</i> a further duty of	0 0 4
Interrogatories in equity,	0 5 0
Depositions in equity by commissioners,	0 5 0
Deposition not by commission,	0 0 4
Copies each,	0 0 4
Every <i>ninety words</i> above first <i>ninety</i> ,	0 0 4
Rule or order in court of law or equity,	0 2 6
Summons by a judge,	0 1 0
Order made by a judge,	0 2 6
Office copy of rule or order,	0 2 6
Every skin of parchment or sheet of paper of such copy, a further duty,	0 2 0
Decree of dismission in chancery or exchequer,	0 1 6

ECCLESIASTICAL STAMPS.

As we have nothing of church supremacy in America (thank God) this detail of the head of stamp duties would be in many particulars incomprehensible—we shall therefore only state, that they are about as numerous in the ecclesiastical courts as in the common law and equity courts; consisting of monitions, citations, allegations, answers, final decrees, commissions, inventories, certificates, testimonials, marriage licenses, certificates of marriage, dispensations, matriculations, registers, entries, presentations, donations, collations, licenses, copy or extract of wills, probates, letters of administration, appeals from courts of admiralty, court of arches, prerogative court, &c. requiring stamps from 4 shillings to 30 pounds!

ADMIRALTY STAMPS.

The English admiralty courts, are *two special*, and two of *appeal*; the first or *instance* court, exists during peace. and is professedly governed by the ancient Roman civil law of Oleron, or in other words the law that most favors the policy of the government;

but from this there is an appeal to the *chancery* court. The second is the *prize* court, usually established during war only; from this court the appeal is to a committee of the king's privy council, called lords of appeal. The forms of proceeding in all their courts are in *writing* or *printing*! a circumstance necessary to estimate the additional oppression of *stamps* to the usual extortion of *proctors* and court lawyers.

As unfortunately American citizens have had too much to do in English admiralty courts, we give the detail of the *stamps* requisite even in seeking justice.

Libel, allegation, inventory, deposition in courts of admiralty, or cinque ports, 5 shillings each—copy four shillings—in Scotland one shilling less.

Every sheet after the first, each,	4 shillings.
Bail bond or recognizance,	20 do
Affidavit in admiralty court,	5 do
Copy also,	5 do
And for every additional sheet,	4 do
Warrant of court,	15 do
Citation or monition,	20 do
Answer,	5 do
Interlocutory decree,	20 do
Copy of any of the preceding,	5 do
And each extra sheet,	4 do
Sentence, attachment of sentence, or relaxation of sentence, each,	30 do
Writ of appeal,	20 do
Letter of marque,	40 do

STAMPS ON DEEDS.

This class of articles comprehends a number of particulars with which the *American farmer* is fortunately ignorant but from information; but there are many which correspond with deeds in common use among us. *That we were saved from them all we should never forget to thank the creator of heaven and earth.*

Deeds, or instruments of conveyance, surrender, lease, release, grant, appointment, confirmation, assignment, transfer, covenant, or other obligatory instrument enrolled or registered, or not; upon any number of words not amounting to 30 law sheets, 70 words to a sheet; together with every schedule, receipt thereon, &c. £.1 10—For every entire 15 sheets above the first, a further sum of 20 shillings.

Copy, or attested copy,	10 do
Every ten sheets above the first ten, further duty of	10 do
Copy for any other than the parties to the deed, on every twenty common law sheets or less, each,	1 do
Certificate of sale of crown lands, worth exceeding ten pounds,	30 do
Surrender of copy hold under 20 shillings per annum,	5 do
Above that sum,	15 do
Admittance to a copy hold, under 20 shillings,	5 do
Above that sum,	15 do
Copy of surrender to any custom, right, &c. of 20 shillings value,	5 do
Exceeding that sum,	15 do
Lease by copy of court roll, under 20 shillings,	5 do
Above that sum,	15 do
Deed of mortgage, not exceeding £ 100	£ 1 10 do
From 100 to 300	2 0 do
300 to 500	3 0 do

From £ 500 to 1000	£ 4 0 shillings.
1000 to 2000	5 0 do
2000 to 3000	6 0 do
3000 to 4000	7 0 do
4000 to 5000	8 0 do
5000 to 10,000	10 0 do
10,000 to 15,000	12 0 do
15,000 to 20,000	15 0 do
20,000 and upwards,	20 0 do
Over and above the first 15 sheets, a further sum of	1 0 do
Bond, commonly called a mortgage bond, or bond given as a collateral security,	0 15 do
Deed, or other instrument of transfer,	1 10 do
And for every 15 common law sheets, a further duty of	0 20 do
Writ of covenant,	2 0 do
Writ of entry,	2 0 do
Exemplification, or seal of court,	3 0 do
Award under hand and seal,	1 10 do
And for every fifteen common law sheets, further duty,	0 20 do
Charter party, or any memorandum, note or letter between an owner of a vessel and a merchant,	1 10 do
And for every other fifteen law sheets, further duty,	0 20 do
Lease of lands,	0 20 do
And further fifteen law sheets,	0 20 do
An Agreement,	0 16 do

No agreement is valid in England, but what bears a stamp—a verbal agreement cannot be taken in evidence!!!

And for every further 15 sheets,	£ 0 16 shillings.
Memorial for register of deeds,	0 10 do
Copy of ditto,	0 5 do
Memorial for registering an annuity,	0 20 do
Bond of any kind whatsoever for a sum not exceeding £ 20	1 0 do
And for every 15 sheets further,	0 15 do
Bonds under the customs and laws,	0 15 do
Bonds given as security for any sum of money not exceeding £ 100	1 0 do
From 100 to 300	1 0 do
300 to 500	2 0 do
500 to 1000	3 0 do
1000 to 2000	4 0 do
2000 to 3000	5 0 do
3000 to 4000	6 0 do
4000 to 5000	7 0 do
5000 to 10,000	9 0 do
10,000 to 15,000	£ 12 0 shillings.
15,000 to 20,000	15 0 do
20,000 and upwards	20 0 do

INDENTURE OF APPRENTICESHIP.

Premiums are generally given with children in England, when apprenticed to any art or trade—the stamps are thus regulated by the premium given :

Where £ 10 sterling is given as an apprentice's fee,	£ 0 15 shillings.
From 10 to 20	1 10 do
20 to 50	2 10 do
50 to 100	5 0 do
100 to 300	12 0 do
300 and upwards,	20 0 do

Assignment of indenture,	15 shillings.
Passport,	3 do
Bill of lading,	3 do
Protest,	5 do
Any notarial act whatever,	5 do
Debentures for drawbacks,	4 do
Procuration,	20 do
Letter or power of attorney,	20 do
For every further 15 sheets,	20 do
Transfer of bank stock,	7s 9d
Statute-staple,	20 shillings
Statute-merchant,	20 do

Transfer of stock in any society whatever—

Exceeding £ 200 sterling,	£ 1 10 shillings,
From £ 200 to 300	2 10 do
300 to 400	3 0 do
400 to 500	3 10 do
500 to 1000	5 0 do
1000 to 2000	7 10 do
2000 to 3000	10 0 do
3000 to 5000	12 10 do
5000 to 10,000	17 10 do
10,000 and upwards,	20 0 do
Policy of insurance for houses,	1 shilling.
Policy for ships not exceeding 20 pounds,	1s 3d
For every further hundred pounds,	1 3
When the premium exceeds twenty pounds,	2 6
For every further hundred pounds,	2 7
When the premium exceeds one hundred pounds,	5 0
For every further hundred pounds,	5 0
Commission or deputation by the commissioners of ex-	
cise,	£ 1 10 shillings,
Admission into any company,	1 0 do
Admittance as a fellow of a college of physicians,	20 0 do
Admittance into any inn or court of chancery,	20 0 do
Degree in any court of chancery,	50 0 do
Warrant for army or navy,	0 12s. 6d.
Warrant for ought beneficial,	0 1 10
Grant from his majesty, exceeding one hundred pounds,	
to pay the duty passing the great seal only,	16 0 0
Of any officer, exceeding 50 pounds per annum,	8 0 0
Exceeding one hundred pounds,	20 0 0
Grant of any honor, liberty, or privilege,	20 0 0
Letters patent under the great seal,	20 0 0
Exemplification of such grant,	20 0 0
Specification of a patent or discovery,	5 0 0
Grant of lands, or other profit under the great seal,	
where the consideration money exceeds 10 pounds,	
a duty of	0 20 0

Keep in memory, *farmers of America*, that you have escaped these *stamp taxes twice*—and that if ever they are revisited upon you, it will be either the effect of your *corruption*, your being too easily duped by *artful* and *selfish* politicians—or by your neglecting to fortify your children with *knowledge* through an early and effective system of education;

No. XIII.

AN English emissary, of the name of Cullen, pays these essays one of the most grateful compliments which, next to public approbation, could be bestowed upon them. A republican paper at New York, from the pressure of local discussion and other matter, has not copied and republished this series of essays—the English emissary triumphs in the omission, and attributes it to a very different cause; nay, makes it a merit that *papers* directly addressed to the common sense of the great bulk of the American nation—the *seventeen-twentieths*, is excluded from even one republican paper.

These papers however have been republished, or the republication commenced, in some one or more newspapers, *in every state of the union*, excepting only *Delaware*.

But the best evidence of their truth is, that the enemies of our government, and the revilers and calumniators of our institutions, are as much depressed and displeased, as the great body of the people are gratified at the simple, though hasty, the irrefutable, though immethodical, series of warnings from experience, and from evidence, which we have thrown out in this shape.

The American *farmer* should never omit as he goes along—making this reflection—“*Had our revolution not succeeded we should now be subject to the same oppressions as the people in England*” are at this day, from the wickedness of its system of policy and “government.”

And he should add to this reflection another—“*Taxation and tyranny grow up imperceptibly—the first stamp duty was a penny a sheet—it is now four pence—the first funded debt of England was a million, it is now 600,000,000 pounds sterling.*”

Such reflections should accompany the perusal of every head of taxes, which we offer as an example of the blessings of the most *stupendous fabric of human wisdom!!!*

We shall now continue our extracts of English taxes.

LICENSE STAMPS.

For selling <i>beer</i> ,	£2 2 0
For selling <i>bats</i> in London,	2 0 0
Do. out of London,	0 5 0
Selling <i>meaicine</i> in London,	2 0 0
Do. out of London, in a corporate town,	0 10 0
Do. elsewhere,	0 5 0
Pawnbroker in London,	10 0 0
Do. elsewhere,	5 0 0
Lottery offices in London,	50 0 0
Do. out of London,	50 0 0
To let horses to hire,	0 5 0
Stage coaches with 4 passengers,	0 5 0
Do carrying more than 10,	0 9 0

Recollect, reader, these taxes are to be renewed annually.
These are the blessings of a funded debt!!

The next head contains a series of items which go to illustrate the *constitutional* speech of our most excellent governor at the opening of the legislature—and we may therefore call it

INFORMATION FOR M'KEAN.

NEWSPAPER AND PAMPHLET DUTY.

Every newspaper,	£0 0 3 1-2
Every other half sheet,	0 0 3 1-2
Pamphlets in half sheet,	0 0 0 1-2
Do. larger,	0 0 1
Almanacs,	0 1 0
Perpetual almanac,	0 10 0
Every pamphlet, containing an almanac,	0 1 0
Do. perpetual,	0 10 0

ADVERTISING IN NEWSPAPER.

For every advertisement,	3 0
Pamphlets, books or papers, larger than one whole sheet, and for every other sheet,	2 0
Playing cards per pack,	2 6

We would recommend to our *worthy* governor to study the above *taxes on newspapers and pamphlets*.

Now again—*more* information for our *federal merchants* and John Adams's stamp men:

COMMERCIAL STAMPS.

<i>Promissary notes</i> —for 21 shillings,	£0 0 3
From £1 to 2	0 0 6
2 to 5	0 0 9
5 to 20	0 1 0
Bill of exchange, on demand,	0 0 8
Do. after sight,	0 1 0
From £5 to 30	0 1 6
30 to 50	0 2 0
50 to 100	0 3 0
100 to 200	0 4 0
200 to 500	0 5 0
500 to 1000	0 7 6
1000 and upwards,	0 10 0

Look here again federalists and *federal quids*.—

For every receipt or discharge <i>whatever</i> , amounting to £2, and not exceeding 10,	0 2d.
From 10 to 20	0 4
20 to 50	0 8
50 to 100	1s. 0
100 to 200	2 0
200 to 500	3 0
500 and upwards,	5 0

Receipt, discharge, or acquittance, or any writing *whatever*, which shall contain or express, or in *any manner* settle an account, or when the account is expressed or balanced for *any sum whatever*, and acknowledged to be in full, 5 0

Next comes duties on probates, letters of administration, and *legacies*—let us see what “blessings” are summed up under this head—farmers, here they are, judge for yourselves—and a pretty list indeed.

For every probate of will from £ 20 to 100	£ 0 10 0
From 100 to 200	2 0 0
200 to 300	5 0 0
300 to 450	8 0 0
450 to 600	11 0 0
600 to 800	15 0 0
800 to 1000	22 0 0
1000 to 1500	30 0 0
1500 to 2000	40 0 0
2000 to 3500	50 0 0
3500 to 5000	60 0 0

And so on in the same ratio, up to £ 500,000 which pays £ 6000 0 0

Next comes game licenses.

That is, a *farmer* dares not kill a partridge unless he possesses £ 100 per annum, and then not without paying a game license of £ 3 3 annually.

INSURANCE DUTIES.

On every £ 100 of stock on houses, or any property, yearly, 2s. 6d.

HATS.

Every hat, including trimmings, value 4s.	0 3
From 4 to 7	0 6
7 to 12	1 0
12 to 18	2 0
18 and upwards,	3 0

PLATE.

Every ounce of gold,	16 0
Every ounce of silver,	1 0

MEDICINES.

For every package, or box, or vial,	0 11-2
Value from 1 to 2 shillings,	0 3
do 2s. 6d. to 4 do	1 0
do 10 to 20 do	2 0
do 20 to 30 do	3 0
do 30 to 50 do	10 0
do 50 and upwards,	20 0

Pay so much tax for curing a disorder, and when recovered—only to wake to slavery!

POST HORSES.

For every mile,	11-2
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STAGE COACHES.

For every mile,	2
If 6 passengers,	2 1-2
If 10 passengers,	5

RACE HORSES.

For every horse, every time he enters to run on any course,	£ 2 2 0
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GAME LICENSES.

Every person who shall have a *dog* or *gun*, shall deliver in his name, under the penalty of £ 20.

APPRAISEMENTS.

For every sheet of paper containing an appraisement of 50 pounds,	2s. 6d.
From 50 to 100	5 0
100 to 200	10 0
200 to 500	15 0
500 and upwards,	20 0

Now for legacies—here *farmers* is a stamp tax—in *reality*, here are the *blessings* of a *national debt*—here are the blessings of a monarchy in perfection—read them with attention.

Upon any legacy of 20 pounds or more, given by will for the benefit of any child or descendant of any child, for every 100 pounds,	1s.
To a brother or sister, for every 100 pounds,	2 10d.
Brother or sister of a father or mother, for every £ 100	4
A brother or sister of a grand-father or grand-mother—for every £ 100	5
For the benefit of any other person,	8

N. B.—The *royal family* are exempted from any duties under this act.

All these duties are payable exclusive of a *stamp receipt* to be given by former acts on the receipt of any legacy.

Wives, children, or grand children, when the amount is £ 20 or under,	2s. 6d.
From 20 to 100	5 0
100 and upwards,	10 0
Any other descendant, or the father or the mother, to pay for a legacy of £ 20	5 0
20 to 100	20 0
100 to 200	£ 2 0 0
200 additional,	3 0 0
300 additional,	4 0 0
And for any further 100 an additional	2 0
Every stranger, for a legacy under £ 20,	5 0

Farmers, make your calculations—those are the blessings the British agents, and spies, and Americans “*warmly federal*,” want to make you partakers of—will you accept the boon?

Ask yourselves the old question of the Roman orator—*cui bono*? *What good* has been produced by those taxes? Are they the better or the worse? Were these taxes laid for their good?

You will be told that they were necessary. *How necessary*? The country was involved in wars. *By whom*? You will be told that it was by the jealousy or enmity of their neighbours. But you see them engaged in the present war to restore those very enemies of which they have pretended to complain for ages, and who in turn complained of them, and both of whom were alike culpable.

There are two *clues* to the mysteries of English taxation, but one growing out of the other.

The prime source of evil is the form and system of government—of which we gave you a small specimen in the sums consumed by the *royal family*.

The next is the wars in which the nation has been involved to keep up and strengthen that system; only consider the following facts—which shew the source of the taxes in the second degree.

From 1700 to 1701	Peace,	years, 2
1702 to 1712	War,	11
1713 to 1717	Peace,	5
1718 to 1720	War,	3
1721 to 1738	Peace,	18
1739 to 1747	War,	9

From 1748 to 1753	Peace,	years, 8
1756 to 1763	War,	8
1764 to 1774	Peace,	10
1775 to 1783	War,	9
1784 to 1792	Peace,	9
1793 to 1807	War,	15

In these wars of little more than a century, are not comprehended any of the wanton aggressions of Falkland Islands, Nootka Sound and Oothakoff armaments, nor the wars of Mysore.

These wars are the means by which enormous debts and taxes were rendered *necessary*.

And which have gradually progressed to the misery of the English people—the impending ruin of her independence as a nation, and the overthrow of every power in Europe—*Say!* will you go the same road?



No. XIV.

THAT was a most animating spectacle which was lately exhibited in Baltimore. A musical festival was held, to which each person who chose to be an auditor, subscribed a small sum for admission. The proceeds were destined to purposes of charity—and congenial with so benevolent a purpose, the performers were composed of the members of *various Christian churches*, and the auditors of every religious denomination. In what other country could such a spectacle be seen? Where but in this could the voices of various sects be found united in the sweet concord of *charity* and *toleration*?—FARMERS, you owe this all to your principles of government—such concord you could not see or hear any where else—the interests of other governments depend upon imposture; religion is employed only as an engine of the state—the machinery of state is constructed upon principles the reverse of concord;—it is constructed upon principles of discord. And a *state church* is employed at once to aggrandize one sect at the expense of all the rest, and to aid by its *spiritual influence*, the *political influence* of other classes or factions of oppressors. By the revolution of 1776 you escaped this most impious of all the arts of state quackery.

In Britain (for it is the example held out to us) no one tax is found to consolidate together the *energies* of such a *good government*, so well as *tithes*—that is, the *tenth* part of the produce of every *farmer* does, by law, belong to a clergyman of the established church—no matter whether the farmer belongs to that church or to another. The state church must be supported—because it combines both temporal and spiritual influence. And the established clergy, in return for the favor of the *state*, act as *spies* to deliver over, with the assistance of the parish *lawyer* and parish *exciseman*, for punishment, every declaimer against too much energy in government.

The *privileged clergyman* adds spiritual excommunication in Britain—to the terrors of regular government.

The *tithes* are wholly paid by the farmer—be he Calvinist or Quaker—Methodist or Seeker—he pays the tenth to the established church.

Supposing a farmer were to rent three hundred acres of land, and offer the clergyman *one hundred* of them instead of *tithes*—and beside *paying the rent for the clergyman*—think you he would accept the land, even with the rent paid?

No, he would not!

His *tenth* of the produce would be better in Britain than one third of the land after defraying charges of cultivation—for farmers in England are generally renters.

The farmers, in the first place, pay the *rent*—

Secondly, the *land tax*, and all the *other taxes*, we have enumerated in preceding numbers.

Thirdly, the wages of his servants, and the expense of his house and farming utensils.

Fourthly, plowing, manuring and sowing.

Fifthly, reaping.

And after the farmer has incurred all this expense and labor—*then* comes the established *clergyman*—but not *till then*!

The farmer, when his wheat is cut, must put it up in the field in sheaves of *ten in each heap*—

Then the clergyman comes and picks out one of the best; if there is one heap in every ten that looks bigger than the others, that is certain to go to the established church.

The farmer is obliged to put his *barley*, and *oats*, and *hay* also in heaps; and the clergyman gathers up every *tenth* heap in like manner—he takes his choice, *one out of every ten*!

The farmer *dares not touch* any of his own property, the produce of his labor and expense, till he has given notice to the clergyman; and even then the *parson* may suffer his tenth parts to remain in the field—48 hours—and the poor farmer dares not turn in his hogs, or his turkeys, or poultry, the while!

These various articles, however, are only what are called the *great tithes*!

After that the farmer is obliged to pay to the established church a composition for feeding and pasturing his own cattle, &c. &c.—and these are called the *little tithes*!

Then for the *farmer's wife*—

She, poor woman, comes under the parson's clutches.

She must carry to the parson's house—every tenth *chicken*—

Every tenth *goose*, *turkey*, and *duck*—

Every tenth *egg*, and *roasting pig*—

The tenth of her *apples*, and *peaches*, and *pears*, and *cherries*.

And more, she must pay a *composition* for the cabbage, thyme, onions, cellery, parsley, &c. &c. of her garden.

If a poor man has only *one hen*, and that hen hatches *seven chickens*, the parson *takes one*, notwithstanding; it was not the parson's fault if the hen had not ten instead of seven—the same of the *litters* of pigs; the same of *geese*, &c.—the *larks* give it him.

This must be a stupendous fabric of human wisdom—for the *parsons of the established church!!!*

Then the clergyman takes the *tenth calf*—also for the *established church*.

He has the *tenth part* of the milk *every day*.

Or if the parson chooses the whole milk of every *tenth day*—he may make the choice.

Many a poor poor *calf* and *hog* goes with a hungry belly in England, *every tenth day*—but who will be so *jacobinical* as to say the government was made for *calves*? Or that *John Bull* is only a GREAT CALF for submitting to it?

Then comes *Easter dues*.

Farmers of America, do you know what *Easter dues* are?

It is curious to see the poor agricultural *laborers* (the *clodpoles*) in Britain, whose children are almost starving, or feeding on their *barley cakes*, lugging the *tenth* of their scanty produce, of their gardens—their *eggs*, their *poultry*, and *with tears*, knocking at the door of a minister of a church called *Christian*!

There is *energy* for you! “O! how degraded are the United States, by a *jacobinical* democratical government, such as they *now have*,” said a “*warmly federal*” friend lately.

Had the system of 1797–8 succeeded, we should have had more energy—and in time, farmers of America, your children might have paid *Easter dues*—what a misfortune that *Burr* missed the empire! the *vicar general* of Mexico no doubt made *tithes* a part of the *convention*.—It was a part of the *CONCORDAT* of the *quid* empire!

Well, the clergyman prefers receiving tithes of one tenth of the produce, rather than to have *one third of a plantation* for a gift!!

But the clergyman of the established church is a political arithmetician; the taxes are so heavy that he is considerably the gainer, by refusing one third of the land and taking a tenth of the produce.

The *farmers* often have *bad crops* in Britain, like other countries—by bad crops, *bad harvest*, by heavy *poor rates*, or the death of his horses and cattle, he is, as elsewhere, a considerable loser by his farm; and very often his stock is seized to pay the rent, to the “*best blood of the country*.”

You would naturally conclude then, that the *parson* would make some little allowance; and if the law had neither justice nor generosity in it, that the Christian parson would have some little feeling—that he would come in for some little share of the loss.

But no, not a cent—the church, like the king, can do no wrong—the church of England is not like the *pope* infallible—it can only do *no wrong*.

The *farmer* might be ruined, his wife and family turned out of doors, his children crying for bread, but the parson, *crop* much or little—be the *weather* wet or dry—sweeps off *wheat*, *hay*, *barley*, *calves*, *turkeys*, *ducks*, *geese*, *hogs*, *eggs*, *apples*, *pears*, and *parsley*!

The *farmer* may *starve*, but the *tithe* must be paid.

This is the system held up for your admiration, more admirable

than the discovery of the compass and all that—this is the state you, farmers of America, would have been reduced to ere long, had it not been for *Jefferson's* election, and the wise democratic policy of his administration.

Tithe and *excisemen*, *proctors*, always go hand in hand—they are the chief support, the *janisaries* of energetic government—read this brief statement,—it contains a *monument* that ought to excite more curiosity and astonishment than the existence of the pyramids of Egypt—for its stupendous *base*.

When the British agents and papers, and spies, and Cullens, call for an energetic government, they mean by it, all which we have enumerated—and more that we shall enumerate.

Many *federalists* who know nothing of Britain or British government but by hearsay—federalists, really well meaning men, but who fancy themselves “*a little bit of blood*,” those poor deluded men, we have seen gaping and swallowing and crediting the “cock and bull stories” of *British spies*—and believing every report of Britain which the *papers* in British pay relate.

Are those *federalists* ready to bend the neck to the *taxes* and the *tithes* we have enumerated?

Our expositions in the *farmers' politics*, we are happy to find, *cut close*—there are wretches up *for hire* who advertise themselves by reviling *farmers' politics*—they cannot *controvert*, they cannot deny the truth of a fact stated in them—but they are *hankering* after the “flesh pots”—and they reprobate these essays, as an unfortunate class of another sex hang out a *signal*.

And why? because we relate facts, undeniable facts, which cannot be palliated.

No. XV.

IT is a very common custom for the executive magistrates of those states, whose capitals are occasionally afflicted with the YELLOW FEVER, to congratulate the citizens whenever they escape from its visitation.

It is common (and laudable) for the clergy to offer their thanks to God for the exemption.

And even the merchants are as joyous as if they had made a good voyage uninsured.

These things are natural—because they are matters between God and man—the affliction may be avoided in a great degree by a retreat in time—or by wise precautions against its inroads, through the *channels* of filth and uncleanness—

But such is the inconsistency, or the contradictory nature of man, that evils more *durable* and *dangerous*, because they carry *contagion* from generation to generation, and produce the deadly

disease of despotism and debasement—the *mind's death in the living man*; this disease finds its way amongst us in ten thousand shapes, and yet we have no *quarantine law* against it—the disease we allude to is FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

It would be a subject well worthy of time and labor—to enter into a comparative analysis of the various shapes in which *yellow fever* and *foreign influence*, affect the body corporate and politic—and to ascertain the *various modes* of attack, and the *particular subjects* most exposed to the *infection* of each. Both diseases have one common appearance—in fact, both might, for that matter, be characterised under the denomination of *yellow*—only distinguishing the *physical* from the *political*.

There is a feature, or as the physicians would say, a *diagnostic*, common to the two diseases.—

They do not pass and carry destruction *beyond the tide waters*—we have them both in our cities, and *no where else*, unless now and then a *vagrant case*; but such cases are deemed *sporadic* or *singular*—and convey no contagion.

It is in our cities we see them exercise their *deadly empire*—and either destroy or undermine the *constitutions* of all who come within their pestilential scope.

What other diseases of the *same* type, but with some variation in the *appearances* of the *patients*, these have generated, we shall not go at length into the inquiry. The *farmers* and *mechanics* will keep in mind, the indisputable fact—

That these diseases do not prevail nor produce the least danger—beyond the *tide waters*, or the atmosphere of our cities.

“*Warm federalism*” is only the same disease, with a different aspect; the disease in its violent character, appears first under the characteristic of “*warm federalism*”—and though *yellow fever* comes only from the West Indies when there is a massacre or a war—the *warm federal fever* prevails most when we are most at peace and most solicitous to be so—but both are *plagues*—both equally *deadly*—both equally to be shunned.

However, “*warm federalism*” is placed, by *Burr's* conspiracy, rather in an *awkward* situation.

Federalism has been the covert under which every thing *venomous* and *traitorous* has sheltered itself—

Under the wings of *federalism* the *bats*, the *night owls*, the *birds of prey*, nestled and brooded.

Warm federalism, *British agents*, *British spies*, the *Cobbetts*, and *Cullens*, *quiddism*—and at last in the full glare of treason—*Burr*—crept out from beneath the wings of *federalism*—and are all vindicated or connived at by *warm federalism*.

How dreadful is the crisis of this disease when medicine is not timely administered!

The federalists have constantly held themselves up as the “*best blood*” of the country—

This has been their regular cry.

The *vulgar*, as Johnson has it, in Britain, are—the *swinish multitude*.

In Connecticut the "*sainted pilgrims*," call the men of industry and innocence, *tag-rag*.

The warm federalists and British agents, every where style them—the *vulgar*.

Burr asserts,—that *hundreds of the best blood of the United States, were in his conspiracy*.

Federalists have always called themselves the *best blood*—where there is presumed to be *best*, that there must be *worst* follows—consequently it is *federalists* he alluded to—when he talked of them as they talk of themselves—*mechanics* and *farmers*, of course, are the worst.

Those are plain understandable facts—they are not to be contradicted by all the sophistry of the "*warm federal*" newspapers, who, by their vain but flattering denunciations of our addresses to *farmers and mechanics*, show the cloven foot of the *cabinet of St. James's*.

Why do not those *tory papers* republish our farmers' and mechanics' *politics*, and refute them?

Why do they not let the persons who confine their ideas to their papers, judge for themselves whether our *politics* are those of an *enemy* to the United States?

We have given in our politics to *farmers*, and in some of the numbers to *mechanics*, a pretty good idea of the blessings of *taxes*.

Of the blessings of the *blood, birth, extraction* of Britain.

Burr applied to none but federalists as his *leaders*.

You, *federalists*, who are really Americans, how can you get over these damning facts—how wipe away the stigma he has loaded you with?

Burr's plans were to establish himself an EMPEROR.

And *Burr* applied to *federalists*, as if he knew that the general principles of *federalism* tended to monarchy.

Mechanics, as well as *farmers*, these remarks we throw before you for your consideration—if any of you who are called *federalists*, and are only held by the principle without being participators in the iniquity carried on under the name—you have sufficient evidence before you of what federalism has been perverted to, by the resort of traitors to that party for the materials of destruction—if you have voted for the opposers of a *democratic* government, if you have supported the advocates of *war*, standing armies, fortifications—

Pause, we beseech you—"for heaven's sake, pause."

Take the specimen of *Burr*, as the surest principles of the leaders of *federalism*!

An *emperor*!—you have had specimens of monarchy in the seven years' horrors of revolutionary war, carried on by George III. against you.

You have specimens of *monarchy*, in the *taxes of Britain*—in the horrible slavery to which her population are subjected.

In the list of taxes on *servants*, which are divided into *four classes*, those who wait on the *blood, birth, and extraction* of Britain, are ranked the highest in honor—many of them come here, and in

half a dozen years they talk of their *nobility*, and of "having served their masters in stations suitable to their birth."

Then comes what are called the third class, and in that class are enumerated :

Persons who ride, or collect money, or settle accounts in the country, for merchants—

Then book-keepers or clerks—

Then shopmen or warehousemen !

Then laborers in husbandry, that is the farmers ; for you must observe that where there is nobility or no-ability, or best blood, the farmers are put in the lowest class !

What say these classes of persons, in the United States, to those distinctions ?

Is the *Aurora* their enemy because it tells them the truth, and does not deceive them—or is it because it tells *too much truth* for them to bear ?

If then these classes are registered as the *lowest grades of servants*, that is, ranked with the unfortunate *negroes*—

How much lower must the *mechanics* be deemed ?

Cobbett tells you, they are all *PAUPERS* in England—that is *beggars !*

Burr's conspiracy calls on every real American, at the next election to exert himself ; it calls on him to give his sacred vote for none but men who will support the principles of *equality*.

Who invented the steam engine ? *Mechanics*.

Who invented and improved the fire engine ? *Mechanics*.

Who invented and improved the loom ? *Mechanics*.

Who invented and improved all the machinery of mill work ? *Mechanics*.

Who build and improve the arts of navigating the sea in *ships* ? *Mechanics*.

By all their various mechanical arts, it is that *Britain* has obtained her boasted manufactures and *trade*.

And yet *British agents* term the mechanics of America : "*Low-bred tradesmen*"—"the vulgar."

Mechanics and *farmers*, it rests with yourselves, if you are disposed to bend your necks to the *Burrs* or to *British emissaries*—they are ready to set their *feet* upon you.

If you are determined to be *freemen*—only count your numbers—but be not content with computation—be *united* with each other—there is room enough for us all in this happy wooden world of ours—nay more, mechanics and farmers, it is a solemn truth that the more work you do, the more business you will have to do ; because if you could do enough for the consumption of the country, you would not have either *foreign competition*—nor the dangerous influence which foreign agents exercise to keep your industry under, and to retard the public prosperity to which peace contributes so much, and which war would either destroy or retard for twenty years.

Look to your happy country, and be proud that there is no *lord* or *lordling* to put you from your path of industry, nor to tare from you the fruits of your honest labor and genius.

If you betray such a country by aiding those who are your *villifiers*, and the disturbers of your country's peace—you or your children must feel remorse. Act by your country as the men of 1776 acted—and the joys of conscious rectitude will lengthen your lives and bless your posterity.

No. XVI.

WHENEVER the emotions of virtuous liberty take possession of man, the spirit which it inspires renders him superior to the little and sordid interests which engross the plodding calculator or the speculator in human wants or misfortunes. This spirit it is which though it may not be equally felt by all, is still so diffusive and glowing, as to arouse and keep nations from falling into the lethargy of vices and sordid passions. Without this animating spirit, or could it be extinguished, the American nation would speedily follow in that gloomy path which leads to the grave of liberty, and the loss of general happiness. This spirit in republics is vital—it is the spirit which guards against the encroachments of every species of danger, and which being established on the basis of *virtue*, without which freedom cannot exist, necessarily maintains an incessant and eternal watchfulness, against every species of crimes and criminals—a *contention of this kind, however grateful the triumph to the advocate of virtue, cannot be maintained without much disgust, much abhorrence, and not a little of hazard and peril to him who is placed in the front of the combat*—where, too, the advocate of public virtue has nothing to expect but the consolations flowing from his own rectitude—and where the wicked, disregarding all considerations, but success, in which they may gain something, are indifferent alike to honor and to virtue, and even to the atrociousness of their means of warfare; they resort to weapons which virtue would not employ, and they find allies and auxiliaries in every gradation of turpitude.

Such we, without affectation, fairly confess we think to be the condition of every editor of a *free press* who advocates the principles of the *Declaration of independence*, and the *peace and independence* of the United States. The joy that warms the bosom of the freeman, who renders noble service to his country, is like incense which regales the senses—and the anger and the menaces of his enemies are the proudest tributes of applause bestowed on his labors.

We had contemplated suspending the remaining numbers of the *POLITICS FOR FARMERS*—but we find them called for from all parts of the country; we have been repeatedly solicited to publish them in a more portable form; and we have been requested to continue them. The most forcible call upon us has been the *articles* from the gazettes notoriously hostile to the liberty of the

United States; they have exhibited so much anger and resentment, as to prove that the success of these numbers has exceeded our anticipations—*Upwards of 300 NEW SUBSCRIBERS have been added to the subscription list of the Aurora, since the first day of December last*; we shall now complete the series; three numbers beside the present, are already prepared; and shall appear without material delay.

In the preceding numbers we exhibited the *ingenuity* and *variety* of *taxation*, under that government which is a more stupendous fabric of human wisdom (or wickedness!) than has hitherto existed. We touched upon the *regal civil list* and its *various* legitimate and *illegitimate* branches—and we ventured also to touch the *hierarchy* and the *tithes*.

We promised to touch upon the *excise*—that fatal malady of free states. The memory of excise is not yet eradicated from the American mind; it excited a dangerous fermentation, and a just apprehension; much as the resistance of that execrable excise system has been artificially covered with odium; it is the *manner* of the resistance, and not the resistance itself that is really censurable; the resistance however destroyed it; and the sacrifice of a million of dollars was a cheap expenditure to save the nation from its horrid and baleful effects. Comparatively few of our citizens know what the excise was—or is; but they may form an opinion of what it might have been, had the system not been annihilated by national feeling, by a view of the excise system in *England*, from which our very profound financiers borrowed it. The *farmers* of America may remember that the excise and the *British treaty* were born about the same time, and have been each fruitful of disaster.

The excise was introduced in England under that very *Charles I.* who had his head cut off on a scaffold, for his manifold offences against the people; but when that government became so financial from its extravagance, as almost to realize the opinion of an *Italian*, that the *government was instituted only to make experiments in finance; and to discover how far the theory of credit and interest and imposition and credulity could be carried*. According as the government became wicked and extravagant, the excise was progressively extended to such an extreme, as to be of itself sufficient to obliterate every vestige of civil liberty, domestic security, or attachment to government. Read and judge for yourselves—read these papers, which British emissaries tell you are “accused papers,” because they tell you truths which no one can controvert—which they cannot deny—which they cannot even shew to be in a single particular false, nor either distorted or discoloured in a single instance.

You, American *farmers*, can brew your own beer from your own malt—if you chuse to do it—you can *roast* and *grind* your own *coffee*, if you chuse to use it; if you kill a bullock, a calf, or a sheep, and you chuse to make *candles*, or to make *soap* of the fat, you can do it without asking any man’s permission; the things are your own. But there would be no end to shewing you what you

can do and may do—but none of these things here stated, nor a thousand more, can an Englishman do in his own country—*without an exciseman!*

In England no house-keeper dare, under a heavy penalty, roast as much coffee as would make a breakfast—but in the presence of an *exciseman*.

No man dare make his own *chocolate*—without an *exciseman*.

No man can make his own malt, or malt for another person—without an *exciseman*.

Every person who makes *candles* or *soap*, must take out a license, and have his name registered in the excise office—so that no person in his own family can make soap or candles, whatever may be saved by it—there must be an *exciseman* to see the *soap* or *candles* made, and even the place in which they are made must be closed and secured by two locks—and the *exciseman* must keep one of the keys: so that no soap or candles be made but in his presence, and when it suits his convenience! nor can the manufactory be unlocked—but in the presence of an *exciseman*.

No person can brew his own beer, or beer for any other person—but in the presence of an *exciseman*.

The *exciseman* is of a *privileged order*, for he has power to enter any malt house—or brew house at any time of the day, or night; and if admission is not immediately given, he may, by having a constable present, *break open the door*.

No man can distill a gallon of whiskey or gin—without an *exciseman*.

No man can make a brick or a tile—without an *exciseman*.

No man can dig a slate from a quarry—without an *exciseman*.

No man can manufacture snuff or tobacco—without an *exciseman*.

When an inn-keeper or tavern-keeper takes out a license for keeping a tavern, he has not done all that the excise law requires; he may keep the tavern empty if he likes, and live upon his license, if he does not take out an additional and separate license for every one of the following particulars:

- 1 A license for selling Brandy and spirits, or rum,
- 2 do. Beer.
- 3 do. Wine to his customers.
- 4 do. Tobacco and segars.
- 5 do. Cyder and metheglin, or meade.
- 6 do. for letting Horses.
- 7 do. do. Chaises, gigs, or Jersey waggons.

Then your grocers, or wet-good store-keepers, must have their several kinds of licenses also—

- 1 A license to sell Tea, coffee, or chocolate.
- 2 do. Tobacco and snuff.
- 3 do. Starch.
- 4 do. Wine.
- 5 do. Whiskey and spirits.

A separate license is to be paid for in every case.

But the shop-keeper is not done there ; the excise pays particular attention to its favorites, the shop-keepers and tavern-keepers.

The exciseman is bound to keep an account of the shop-keeper's stock, and the tavern-keeper's stock, which he may take account of at any time, and as often as he chuses ; he can compel them at his own discretion to weigh every pound of *tea, coffee, chocolate, starch, tobacco, or snuff* ; and to guage every cask of wine, or other liquors, every day, and at any hour of the day he chuses ; it signifies nothing how busy the *tavern-keeper* or the *store-keeper* may be with their customers—all must give way—to *his majesty's ink horn*.

The tanner cannot tan a hide, but under the inspection of an exciseman.

The manufacturer of glue—must work under the exciseman.

The dresser of skins and the manufacturer of parchment, must not work without an exciseman.

No man can curry a hide, after it is tanned, but under the inspection of an exciseman.

No man can establish a paper mill, or finish a ream of paper, but under the control of an exciseman.

We have not done, nor one half done—for even the exciseman is under the control of another exciseman of a superior order—whom we shall notice in our next ; meanwhile, we recommend it to those who are forever holding up the British government as a *model of perfection*, to open their understandings, and be no longer foolish—what we here state they may not all have known ; but he who knows these things, and would recommend such a system for our imitation, must be an enemy of human nature—or an idiot.

American farmers, never forget that this is only a small part of the system that was intended for you—this was the *rod which an energetic government* was to provide for you—and to bring you to *order and regular government* ; and do not forget—that *excises, and tithes, and taxes*, are the natural effects of *monarchy and wars*, and the odious systems which tear from the hands of industry the fruits of its labor, to bestow it on the ministers of courts, and those *spurious broods* of beings called *nobility*.



No. XVII.

WE stated in our last, that, over the lowest grade of *excisemen*, there was another and superior grade ; these are called *supervisors*. The exciseman may be a *thief*, and they set *another* to watch him. He may, indeed, have pestered the tavern-keeper or the store-keeper, with daily weighings and guagings ; but the *supervisor* knows his *craft*, and must do something for the honor of his sacred majesty's protecting government ; he therefore orders all to be

weighed and guaged again. As dignity, it is said, descends—so we sometimes see even in our republic a constable or a court runner, assume more airs in the exercise of his functions, than the president of the United States, who appoints him; so the distance is great between the exciseman and the supervisor's dignity in a monarchy.

Perhaps when the gentleman supervisor (for they are *gentlemen*! also) comes, he recollects that you did not make your *bow sufficiently low to his majesty's ink horn* at the preceding visit; and that you may not forget what you owe to so beneficent and all protecting a government, he may insist on measuring and weighing and guaging your stock once more; and if there are any indignant feelings *left* in the bosom of poor John Bull; if the "memory of departed joys," as Dr. Leib said, talking of the liberty of the press, remain with him, and he utters a sulky symptom of discontent, the superior (who is a gentleman always!) having charge of the scales and the gauging rod, may punish the contumacy by either a threat or an actual prosecution for defrauding the revenue. Poor *John Bull* may be as innocent in the affair—and as patient as a bear with a sore head, though he growls:—it is no matter, the exciseman and the supervisor are his majesty's representatives—and, as every part or parcel of majesty partakes of its essence, and the king being incapable of doing wrong, as is agreed by the very bench of bishops, and all the lords of his creation, so neither can the exciseman nor the supervisor do wrong—he can neither blunder, nor mistake, nor even falsify—his fiat is like the law of the Medes and the Persians. Indeed it saves ages of trouble—a poor devil of a tavern-keeper or shop-keeper is not obliged to hang about the courts for seven years to bring a villain to justice—the villain is himself the culprit, the prosecutor and the executioner—the fellow who dares to turn up his nose at majesty is dispatched at once by a dash from his majesty's ink horn.

But we have not enumerated still all the operations of excise.

No store-keeper or other person can sell a hat—without an excise license.

No callico printer can print a yard of cotton or linen cloth—without an exciseman.

No silversmith can finish a tea spoon or any piece of plate—without an exciseman.

An exciseman is requisite to put the finishing hand to every sheet of parchment.

The exciseman exacts a dollar a bushel for every bushel of barley which a farmer makes or has made into malt.

Glass cannot be removed from the glass house without the permission of the exciseman.

There is another view in which the *energetic beauty* of the excise system is to be seen. The exciseman charges John Bull with an intended fraud; the exciseman may, in the first instance, mistake, and really believe the charge founded; he makes his entry;—but the law *expressly forbids the erasure or obliteration of a single letter in his book*; he dares not blot out or erase—the mistake

must stand—and the place of the exciseman is now at stake—we say nothing of the reputed morals of English excisemen—he is afraid or ashamed of his error—and, being detected by the supervisor, is passed off to the charge of poor John.

The excise laws of England disdain to prove any thing, they are too merciful to be liable to suspicion, they are administered by angels in human shape—and when these angels make an accusation, the benevolence of the law, laughing at the false logic of ancient ethics, puts the proof of innocence on the accused; perhaps by reversing the rules of accusation, innocence may be the fact charged, and they conclude that it is not a violation of common law principles to oblige the accused to prove an affirmative. However, common people may not be able to discover these nice distinctions.

Every store-keeper, and tavern-keeper, is obliged to keep a book, in which he is compelled to enter every pound or ounce of tea, tobacco or snuff, &c. sold. This book he is obliged to swear to every four months. Should there happen to be any mistake, either of a wife, or shopman, or boy, or by any hurry of business—then there is a prosecution for *perjury*, and the whole stock is liable to seizure—for the benefit of his sacred majesty's faithful and vigilant officers, the exciseman and supervisor.

This is what we hear of in certain mouths very often—supporting the dignity of the government—this is what we hear often, under the name of *energy*; it is sometimes called *character* too; and who can dispute as to its character.

However, there are some things that may be urged as palliatives—store-keepers should be more careful—and as it was under Lewis XIV. the French acquired all their politeness, John Bull may learn to *boo*! and he is bound to learn arithmetic; and to swear; which implies that he should also learn to dance and be religious, and to read; and then his wife may be kept out of the shop, and his children may go to school (or the work house) or into the army; and while he is minding his business himself, he escapes all the danger of being infected by jacobinism, or thirsting after the delusion of parliamentary reform.

But all the good which the government, in its wisdom and mercy, derives from the great body of *excisemen* and *supervisors*, requires still to be explained. In conjunction with the clergy of the *established church*, it is their duty to be *supervisors* of the public morals and politics also; the churchmen look to their *spiritual*, and the excisemen to their *earthly* concerns. When these fellows (or gentlemen!) are excising and guaging the wine or snuff, the coffee or whiskey, they are also taking the *length* and *breadth* of John Bull's religious and political opinions—for so they are instructed. If there is any little flaw in his religious or political opinions, it is soon *excised*; if he is the least out of unison with the ideas of the powers that be, his heresy is entered in a book along with his excise account, and regularly transmitted to the office which has cognizance of such concerns!

Extend your consideration, AMERICAN FARMERS, to the operation of this *stupendous contrivance of human wisdom*, which leaves

the mariner's compass and the art of navigation, and all other wisdom, in *eclipse*—look at the operation.

In every city, nay in every street of every town, and village and hamlet—in every family in England, there is an agent of the government—in some countries they would be called *spies*; but in a country where there are only a million and a half of paupers and so forth, they may be called by any other names.

A rose by any other name will smell as sweet.

The governing power by this means becomes acquainted with every man's character, religion, and politics—*perfectly social*—perhaps it may be considered as preserving the harmony of social intercourse: but certainly it produces certain effects which many men in this country will admire—no man dares to offend the *parson*, the *lawyer*, or the *exciseman*; woe be to him that does; he is *excised*, and—if he is not exorcised as grievously as the witches formerly were in Connecticut, it must be his own fault in making a timely escape.

American farmers, are you not charmed with the wonderful system of EXCISE?

But we shall leave you to ruminate for yourselves on the subject—till another day.

No. XVIII.

THEY had formerly a remarkable custom in Sweden; when a criminal was to suffer death, they carefully concealed from him the period or manner of execution; sometimes they cherished hope even to the moment of death, and at others taught him to believe that if it ever took place it must be at some very remote day. Meanwhile they treated him as the Jews of old treated the lamb or the ram for the *holocaust*; or as their cotemporaries, the *Heathen Greek*, fatted their finest heifer as an offering to the ravenous and rapacious Gods of Olympus—or as the Hindus do at this day, pamper their victims; and as the Scandinavian ancestors of the modern Swedes feasted those prisoners of war who were devoted to appease the manes of the followers of Oden, who had fallen in the mighty war—they filled them with food, and flattered them with future felicity; a boon held forth as the certain solace even of the most abandoned of criminals; and their charity was completed by repeated intoxication, and occasional respite, and, when the victim least expected it, without consciousness of life, in the death of drunkenness—the hand of the executioner inflicted a real death.

These customs of ancient and modern nations, are very shocking to the man of real sensibility. They excite gloomy apprehensions, lest men should ever be the slaves and the dupes of similar barbarity. Men shudder at the perversion of the human judgment

when it is rendered imbecile by absolute ignorance, or brutal by that other kind of ignorance which is still worse than mere *nescience*, that knowledge of error, that adoption of misintelligence which is best described by the word *superstition*, which deprives ignorance of its innocence, and, by substituting error for truth, makes the very acquisition of reputed knowledge the creative store house for barbarism.

We are shocked at these things; yet millions and millions of millions of circumstances pass before our eyes, more barbarous, without exciting an emotion or a sigh. "Experience is a *dear school*," said poor Richard, "but none but fools will study there, and *scarcely in that*."

What does *experience* say with poor Richard—are all studies in her school fruitless? Have we not paid dear enough for our *whistle* in the revolution? See what use Europe has made of her *education*!

We shall be told of the jacobinism of the French revolution. But we seldom hear of the jacobinism of Pilnitz! We are told of the jacobinism of the guillotin—but what is the guillotin to the massacre at Praga? What are the fusilades and the guillotinades of Paris and Lyons to the fusilades of Warsaw? Look at the lesson—see the anniversary of Jamaappe celebrated at Fleurus—of Fleurus at Marengo—of Marengo at Austerlitz—and of Austerlitz where—why at Praga! on the theatre of Suwaroff's butcheries; the prologue of Polish dismemberment we saw in 1791, the second and third acts in 1793 and 1795; but in 1805 and 1806 we saw real denouement of Prussian, and Russian, and Austrian humiliation!

"Experience is a *dear school*," says poor Richard.

But it is a dear school only to those who do not profit by it. We are, thank Providence, the only nation that has yet profited by our education. Kings are educated in luxury and selfishness. Republics are born in adversity; and so long as they keep in mind the lessons of experience, they are happy: the moment they forget or disregard them, then their education and the fruits of experience are thrown away.

It has been a kind of fashion to introduce English lessons in our education—but study under experience, and what does the venerable and sedate old dame, what does she say?—She gives you lessons unnumbered.

She gives you the whole history of the earth—the book is cheap as water—it is not dear if you *only read it*, and make a proper use of it—let it not be said with poor Richard, that you study scarce in that—the lessons are abundant, and they are not like the fables of Filpay, or Esop, or Gay, mere fictions of a moral construction, which genius contrives to sooth innocence into the unerring paths of virtue:—your lessons are not fables—they are stories written in the blood and the miseries of millions. The drunken ingenuity of the Swedes, to palliate and sooth, to conceal as it were the avenues to death from the unfortunate victim of the laws—is an awful lesson if we apply the moral—if we test it by the lessons of experience.

Our own history, as we once before observed, is only a chapter

of a volume begun at a certain page in the British history—and let us see what are the lessons which experience points out to us—let us see—aye—the *white* and the *red roses*—whence did those execrable wars arise? Not about a people's rights—not to establish virtue and happiness in a nation—in these wars of those who are called our *firogeitors*—what happened? The wars of the Goths and Vandals—the inroads of the Saracens—the extirpations of the Moors and Arabians, are comparatively mild, when we look at 300 years of remorseless massacre and assassination—for what? To put a scoundrel on a throne, who was after all to become the tyrant and the destroyer of the whole of those who survived and fought his battles.

Experience is indeed a dear school—for what is called the *nobility*—that is, Mr. Burr's '*best blood of the nation*,' which was nearly extirpated in the contest—what contest—why *who shall rule and plunder*; '*men above the dull pursuits of civil life*.'

Farmers of America—voluminous as the common law is—and the oracles say that "20,000 volumes would not contain it,"—experience says, that to be happy yourselves, and to secure happiness to your posterity, you must pursue a course different from that which has been productive only of affliction and misery to mankind, and in every nation. You must consider a system which *experience* shows to have been productive only of *miseries, ruin, desolation, disaster*, and under its very best form, of oppression, and a deception or qualified tyranny—cannot be an object fit for your approbation, much less your applause—or for imitation—it is only such an example as the attempt to extinguish a fire with sulphur or with oil—greater destruction only can be the consequence of its adoption, for human wickedness when interested will employ human cunning to conceal its hideous arts, and to render its destruction more certain—the sulphur will be compounded with other ingredients, and it will blow you up—the oil simply used may be innocent, but add it to combustion, and the greater will be the destruction.

Look at the *royalties*, the *nobilities*, the *hierarchies*, the *taxes*, the *tithes*, the *poor rates*, the *excise* of England—and say, is this the stupendous fabric of human wisdom you wish to imitate?—We leave you for the present to reflect. If knaves or fools deceive you—you cannot say you wanted counsel; and you will then have to deplore for yourselves, and incur the just resentment of posterity. The *light* is before you—open your eyes.

No. XIX.

WE have shewn, by contrasting the situation and progress of the government constantly held up for your imitation, with the state of happiness you possess under your elective government, the

superiority of your condition in every respect. Since the preceding numbers were published, our *positions* are strengthened, and the absurdity of *commercial wars, standing armies, navies, fortifications*, are rendered not only nugatory, but more ridiculous.

We have enumerated *British taxes, tithes, excisemen*, in order to prove that those who have held forth that government as a model of perfection, were *deceivers*; that they held up to view a *theory* deceitfully painted and tinselled on the outside; but which experiment had proved to be totally fallacious in its application and fatal in its consequences.

It is not to us a matter of triumph that the British system has been productive of nothing but misfortunes to the world, and of oppression and misery to its own people; but it is certainly a moral obligation on every American citizen to guard his country against the folly or the wickedness which would lead America into the same destructive path. What we have said hitherto has principally related to the operation of her system of government on the nation of England—we shall take a view of a few circumstances abroad, and let us see if the course is any better there.

There is a Mr. *William Eton*, an Englishman, who was many years in the civil and military service of the empress of Russia. Mr. Eton, in 1801, published, under sanction of the British government, for whom he acted as a political agent, an history of the *Turkish empire*. The motive of that publication was to stir up England against France, and to induce the British to support the empress of Russia in her views on the Turkish empire.

ETON's work is very interesting; no man of discernment can be mistaken as to the political object of the book; but the information compensates for every thing of that kind; he gives the following view and history of the the treatment of near 80,000 *farmers, their wives, and children*, by the regular government of Russia—this dreadful relation is given with all the cold insensibility of a courtier of St. James's, who estimates *farmers and mechanics* only as brutes—not one word of pity or reprobation escapes his courtly pen—take his own words—*farmers*: “While I was in the quarantine on the Russian frontier, in September, 1778, there passed 75,000 *christians, (farmers)* obliged by the Russians to emigrate from the Crimea, of whom 35,769 were males. The *Armenian women*, who came from Kaffa, were more *beautiful*, and I think approached nearer that *perfect form*, which the Grecians have left us in their statues, than the women of *Tino*. These people were sent to inhabit the country *abandoned* by the *Nogai Tartars, (on its being conquered by the Russians,)* near the west coast of the sea of Azof; but the winter coming on before the houses for them were ready, a *great* part of them had no other shelter from the cold than what was afforded them by *holes* dug in the ground, covered with what they could procure: *they were a people who all came from comfortable homes; and the greatest part of them perished*; seven thousand only were alive a few years ago! *Other colonies had no better fate, owing to the bad manage-*

ment of those who were *commissioned* to provide for them—(*contractors who were bawling for war*) and not to the climate.”

Now, farmers, what think you of this picture, told by an English officer, the friend of Russia?—and if *friends* will relate such truths, what cannot *enemies* relate? What would the whole truth be?

He relates it simply as a mere matter of course, as a merchant invoices cold iron; not one word of pity escapes his pen, any more than if these hapless people were statues of iron or stone, for they were *nothing* but *farmers* and *mechanics*.

With the savage feeling of a courtier of St. James's, when dwelling or conversing on the cruelties committed in America; or the massacres of millions for *commercial* purposes in India, or Asia,—they are passed over as merchandize—he says other colonies shared the same fate.

Their women were more beautiful!!

O noble connoisseur—!

He *feasted* his eyes with the beautiful forms of those *farmers'* wives, and their beautiful children—driven at the point of the bayonet, by the order of the savage empress, to form what—and for whose purpose?—why, what think you?

A city, for the advantage of *British merchants*; a commercial city on the sea of Azof!.....As Shylock says—“*this was the value of the bond.*”

What must have been the dreadful sufferings of those *christians*, who all came from *comfortable houses*!

Here pause one moment, *farmers*—there were no royal Bourbons, no dukes D'Enghein among these Armenian beautiful women and children to excite *christian* feeling—they were only people of Armenia, christians, beautiful, and had been happy.

But, American farmers—*mark me*!

In that very year, when those 75,000 farmers, and other colonists, and their beautiful wives, and children, were thus murdered;—

In that very year was that humane monarch George III. in actual treaty for 50,000 of those very Russians, who drove those poor farmers before them with their bayonets; and for what purpose think you?—*to be transported to America*; to do, what think you?—*to aid the Hessians, and Brunswickers, and British troops, in cutting your throats, and giving you an energetic government like that which the Armenians experienced*!

Like those poor farmers you would have been treated by those auxiliaries of George III. had they been landed—you might, perhaps, like the Maroons or Caribbs, have changed your climates, and merely to strengthen your constitution; the South Carolinian might have been removed to Nova Scotia, as the Armenians were to Kaffa,—only for their good, or the good of trade.

The Jersey prison ship, Wilkesbarre, and Paoli, would indeed, and in truth, have been only whippings.

Doctor Johnson, who was in the secrets of St. James, and knew what he said—he knew the intentions of the cabinet of those days.

Turn to MORSE'S GEOGRAPHY, if you have the book; if not, buy, or borrow it, and then read the account of the massacre of

Praga, of *Warsaw*, and of the *Poles*—by those same Russians—who are now the last hope of Europe against jacobinism.

Farmers of America, you may not all know how it happened that *British emissaries* are in such deep anxiety for the fate of Russia at this moment.

We will tell you—they care nothing about the Russians, but they are inveterate against *France* for re-establishing *Poland*—you ought, if you can obtain it, read the history of Poland. It is a useful history for freemen; for Poland fell from its independence because the body of the people were slaves—and because an aristocracy is always accessible to corruption, and ever lusting for power.

There is one other reason that influences the adherents of England; it was *France* that prevented those self same Russians from cutting your throats—by preventing their being sent hither; take *Eton's* own words for it—observe *Eton* is no jacobin, nor in French pay—nor even attached to democracy—he says—

“It would be an endless task to recite all the manœuvres of the French till they *unluckily succeeded*. In this same year 1779—the empress of Russia had determined on giving his *Britannic majesty* an *effective* assistance against his *rebellious subjects* in America, then supported by the crown of France. Prince *Potemkin*, who, to the last day of his life, affirmed, that the success of the enterprize against Turkey, depended on the alliance of Great Britain—had the sole management of this business, and, without the concurrence of *count Panin*, the minister of foreign affairs, and the partizan of France, who, suspecting, or having some information of what was going on, employed a miss *Guibal*, governess of one of *Potemkin's* *nieces*, to steal the papers from under the prince's pillow, and, after seeing the contents, to replace them so carefully, that it was sometime afterwards before he discovered he was betrayed. *Count Panin* found means to retard the signing of the instrument already drawn up, and produced another project in the place, that of the *armed neutrality*.”

Thus it was, *farmers* of America, that you escaped the ravaging murders of *Suwarrow* and the *Russians*—that Boston, or York, or Philadelphia did not exhibit horrors to rival *Praga*.

This is the true cause of the mournings of the *Cullens* and British agents for the fate of Russia.

It was for the *intentions* of those Russians that the blood thirsty *Suwarrow*, and those *Russians*, were toasted, and success drank to their arms in this city of the brotherhood—at the coffee house where our merchants still resort—and where *Harper*, and *Miercken*, and Joe Thomas were the leaders of the feast :

By the *British merchants* and *warm federalists* of *Philadelphia*, over their *nocturnal banquets*, and their wine.

Here is their hostility to *France* :

France prevented *Suwarrow* and 50,000 Russians from being sent hither, in addition to the *Hessians*, *Hanoverians* and *Brunswickers*, and from cutting your throats, for the sake of order and regular government.

Farmers of America, when you read this account of 70,000 of your *christian brethren*—do not forget that such would have been exactly your fate had George III. been victorious—the burnings at Paoli, and Wilkesbarre, Esopus and Fairfield, and New London, as the pious *doctor Samuel Johnson* said, were only the whippings of children, compared with the tender mercies of Russian masters.

In droves like cattle, equal to the population of *Ohio* and *Tennessee*, would you have been driven before the Russian bayonets; and you, your beautiful wives and children, shipped off, either to have been slaves in the British West India islands—at Botany Bay—or perhaps to found colonies on Labradore, or Baffin's bay—as the Armenians were sent to the borders of the sea of *Azof*.

Remember, reader—as you go along—that in those numbers throughout, we offer nothing of theory or surmise—nothing is left to conjecture; we challenge the most inveterate enemies of our politics and yours, to contradict us in a single circumstance or fact which we have uttered to you in the whole course of these numbers.

We give them chapter and verse for our authority; nothing is left to doubt or to speculation—let them turn to *Kearsley's tax tables* for the exemplification of the miseries of Britain—all we say is from British authority.

Let them turn to *Eton's survey* of the Turkish empire, printed in London in 1801—for our assertions in this essay are quoted from that work.

And yet, farmers of America, you have been called to weep over those Russians—who dismembered Poland, and massacred her virtuous citizens at Praga! Look at *Morse's geography* for an account of this.

We suppose you will be called on by the warm federalists to weep over that self same *prince of Hesse*, who sold his subjects to *cut your throats, farmers*.

We suppose you will be called on to weep over the *Hanoverians*, who were sent to *cut your throats*.

We suppose you will be called on to weep over the *Brunswickers*, who were sent to *cut your throats*.

The wages of sin and death, which they received for your wounds, and the murders of your forefathers, are taken from them—and the pains they inflicted are now repaid upon Hanover, and Hesse, and Brunswick.

These *Brunswickers*, whose duke, in his dreadful manifesto declared,

“That such of the *farmers of France* as were found in arms against the troops of those allied powers (the *Russians* and *Prussians*,) should be punished as *rebels*, (just the same language as was held towards you Americans in 1776,—and the city of Paris, in case the king, queen and royal family are not immediately set at liberty, is to be delivered up to the horrors of military execution!”

It was the lately deceased duke of Brunswick, who, at the head of a Prussian army, made this proclamation; and that proclama-

tion was only the echo of what Edmund Burke said at same the time—hear him:

“ The mode of civilized war will not be practised ; they must look for no modified hostility : all which is not *battle*, will be *military execution* ! ! ”

This, *farmers*, was the language of men, who *fasted*, and who *prayed*, and who, drunk with blood, wished success to the *Russian* and *Prussian* partitioners of Poland. Where are those Russians and Prussians now, and see where Poland is—you were once on the verge of being parties in common with those Prussians and Russians—to drive 70,000 American *farmers* before the bayonets as they did the *farmers* of the *Crimea*.

And will you weep over the fate of those *Russians*, those *Hessians*, those *Hanoverians*, those *Brunswickers* ?

As rather over the destruction of their rulers—for whose subjects any change must be for the better.

Compare all these things, for that is the use of them—if you do not compare, all you read is good for nothing.

Had George III. succeeded against you—

Had the Russians come among you—what would have been your fate ?

Look what you are—guard what you have—and you are the most happy people on earth.



No. XX.

YOU have read with attention—for the whole of the actual republican papers from one end of the continent to the other, have republished this series of papers—the truths which they contain have not in a single instance been attempted to be denied, much less refuted ; and the lessons which they convey, are therefore not lost, as newspaper essays too frequently are.

There are yet several other topics which have only been glanced at ; and some of these are so very important in themselves, that if there were no other cause to be jealous of those who endeavored to impose upon you, these alone would be sufficient to induce an eternal watchfulness.

One point which particularly merits your regard, is that which relates to the *liberty of the press*.

Another is what relates to the *meeting of citizens* to consult on public affairs, either to petition for redress of grievances, or for reformation of abuse.

The third is what relates to the rights and liberties of those who compose the great body and strength of every society, those who earn their bread by their bodily labor and industry.

The attempt made in the state of Pennsylvania, by the recommendation of governor M'Kean, to frame law restraints on the

press, in violation of the constitution, renders attention to that subject particularly necessary to freemen; because, as it is the practice of the English government, to receive every thing as usage, which is not resisted or opposed; and to prevent by every means the resistance of what they wish to do, subversive of public liberty; the measure that is unopposed or unresisted through fear, they seize upon and argue upon as a law established through choice, and the precedent becomes what is called *common law*.

You have been so *common law* ridden. that it is a special duty to be vigilant against its encroachments; as well as to guard against its grievances; against the dreadful effects which it may produce if carried to an intolerable extent.

In the three cases above alluded to, attempts have been already made, not only to introduce the system, but execrable laws have been passed, approaching very close to the two first oppressions; and the case of the shoemakers, a *common law decision* in this city, is an hideous and execrable specimen of the third.

That the two first subjects may be fairly before you, we shall not abridge a letter or a word from Kearsley's tax table—the part which relates to the press, is as follows:

“From and after the expiration of forty days from July, 1799, every person having any printing press or types for printing, shall cause a notice thereof, signed in the presence of, and attested by one witness, to be delivered to the clerk of the peace according to the form in the act, who is to grant a certificate thereof for one shilling, and fill one notice, and transmit an attested copy to the secretary of state, and every person who, not having delivered such notice, and obtained such certificate, shall keep or use any printing press or types, or having obtained the same, shall use any printing press or types, in any other place than the place expressed in the notice, shall forfeit twenty pounds.

“His majesty's printers for England and Scotland, and the public presses, are exempted.

“Letter founders and printing press makers are also to give a notice in the form in the act, to the clerk of the peace, who shall grant a certificate, and fill the notice, and transmit an attested copy to the secretary of state.

“An account to be kept of types and printing presses sold, and to whom, and to be produced when required, on penalty of twenty pounds.

“From and after the expiration of forty days after the 12th July, 1799, every person who shall print any *paper or book whatsoever* which shall be meant to be published or dispersed, whether the same shall be sold or given away; *shall print upon the front of every such paper, if the same shall be printed on one side only, and upon the first and last leaves of every paper or book which shall consist of more than one leaf*, his name and the name of the city, town, parish, or place, and also the name (if any) of the square, street, lane, court, or place, in which his dwelling house shall be, on pain to forfeit twenty pounds.

“But not to extend to papers printed by authority of parliament.

“Every printer shall carefully preserve one copy (at least) of every paper printed by him, on which he shall write the name and abode of the person by whom he shall be employed to print the same; and if he shall omit or neglect to do so, or to keep the same for six calendar months, next after the printing thereof, or to produce the same to any justice, who within the same time, shall require to see the same, he shall forfeit twenty pounds.

“It shall be lawful for any person, to whom or in whose presence any printed papers not having the name and abode of the printer thereon, or having a fictitious or false name or abode printed thereon, shall be sold, or offered for sale, or shall be delivered *gratis*, or shall be pasted, fixed, or left in any public place, or in any other manner exposed to public view, to seize the persons selling or offering to sell, or

delivering, pasting, fixing, or leaving the same, and forthwith convey him before some justice, or deliver him to some constable.

"This act is not to extend to impressions of engravings or newspapers, or the printing the names and addresses, or the business of any person, or papers for the sale of estates or goods.

"A justice may empower a peace officer to search for presses and types which he suspects to be illegally used, and to seize them and the printed papers found.

"Prosecutions are to be commenced within three months after penalty is incurred.

"Any pecuniary penalty exceeding twenty pounds, may be recovered by action; and any pecuniary penalty, not exceeding twenty pounds, may be recovered before any justice of the peace, and levied by distress and sale; and in case no sufficient distress can be had, such justice *shall commit the offender to the common jail or house of correction*, for not exceeding six, nor less than three calendar months; and one moiety shall go to the informer, and the other to his majesty."

To these extracts we shall barely subjoin a few short extracts from the constitution of the United States and that of Pennsylvania; and thereto add an extract from the speech of the governor of Pennsylvania; that the American reader may see how closely the views and wishes of a governor disposed to be arbitrary, approaches to the adoption of doctrines execrated even in England—and forbidden in America, and which have already contributed to overthrow an arbitrary administration of the federal government.

Constitution of the United States—first amendment—

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, *or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press*—or the right of the people *peaceably to assemble*, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

Constitution of Pennsylvania—article IX. § 8.

"The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government—and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinion is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print, on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And, in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases."

To this we shall subjoin the extract from the governor's speech—the reader should compare it with the doctrines in the foregoing abstract of English law; further illustration would be superfluous, after the admirable and excellent report of Dr. Leib, which⁶ is of record on the journals of the legislature of this commonwealth.

Extract from MR KEAN'S address.

"The most zealous advocates of a free press, have always thought, that to preserve its liberty, its licentiousness must be restrained. The law provides perhaps sufficiently for the punishment of a convicted libeller; but the inadequacy of that species of reparation to the feelings and fame of the injured individual, and even the opportunities to escape conviction, are points on which the law is still susceptible of great and constitutional amendment.

I would, therefore, venture to suggest, that every printer who assails the character of a citizen should be compelled, if required, to publish the defence; that every printer and editor of a newspaper, or other periodical work, should register his name in some public office of the proper county, to be evidence of the fact of publication, upon trials at law; and that whenever a grand jury shall present a press as a public nuisance, the printer and the editor should be bound in a recognizance with sureties for their good behaviour, and the court authorised to suppress it for a limited time. But, after all, it cannot be denied, that the only effectual remedy must be supplied by the good sense and virtue of the community; since the crime of libelling, like the crime of duelling, will forever depend for its indulgence and its impunity upon public taste and public opinion. Your predecessors indeed lately enacted a law for the more effectual prevention and punishment of duels: but reflecting that duels are among the natural and the usual effects of libels, you, gentlemen, will, I am confident, be solicitous to discredit and suppress the cause of such complicated mischief, by the influence of your example and advice, as well as by the exercise of your legislative authority."

The foregoing extract from governor *M. Kean's* speech, the reader should compare with the quotation from the constitution, which he swore to support; and the coincidence of the restrictions on the press in England, with those which he recommends.

What relates to the *subject of duels* in the *governor's speech*, we shall notice in an essay separate from these papers, and we make no doubt shall both astonish and disgust—when the reader finds the atrocious designs to which the speech alludes.



POLITICS FOR MECHANICS.

No. I.

UNDER the denomination of mechanic, is properly comprehended, every person who practises an art or manual operation by known rules; for the word is derived from a *Greek* word signifying *art*; so that whoever understands and executes any work by rules of art, is a *mechanic*. Some mistakes have prevailed on this term, through a frivolous effort to create distinction, between *mechanics* and *artists*, and *handicraftsmen*, and *manufacturers*, words which are in fact of the same original meaning, only adopted from different languages.

In the strict sense, therefore, a *farmer* who performs the labor of agriculture by rules of art, whether those rules were acquired from imitation, or instruction, or by rules adopted from reasoning and comparison, and various modes of practice by others, is in fact a mechanic, who practises an useful and important *art*.

We have thought it fit to preface a series of papers particularly addressed to *mechanics* by these definitions, as in the course of what we shall have to say, the discriminations that have been artificially or cunningly made, between various classes of men, will be illustrated by the observations which we shall offer to the *mechanics* of the United States.

In addressing our series of papers to the *FARMERS* of the United States, we were well aware that a farmer was also a *mechanic*; and that the importance and interests of actual industry, are common to the whole body of industrious men who are not *above the dull pursuits of civil life*. But as it tends to convenience, and went immediately to the agricultural body, we addressed that body by their favorite appellation of *farmers*; although with us the word *farmer*, bears a very different meaning from the meaning of the same word in the country from which we derive our language. There a "FARMER is a person who rents out an estate, or portion of land, at a stated rent per year." With us the *FARMER* may be called the *noble of nature*; for every American farmer is *the lord of the soil*. The various descriptions of persons employed in the useful arts of social life, in the manufactures of all that con-

tribute to comfort and to rational gratification, from the builder of the house to the manufacturer of needles—from the maker of watches to the makers of stockings and shoes—the weaver, the hatter, the smith of various classes and branches,—all these are alike generally denominated artisans, manufacturers, handicraftsmen—we comprehend them all under one word—*MECHANICS*—and to these we address this series of papers; noting at the same time, that every *farmer* is as much interested in the facts that we shall state and discant upon, as those mechanics who are not practical agriculturalists, but mechanics in the vulgar use of the term.

Dr. FRANKLIN, who may be considered with propriety as the great exemplar and glory of *MECHANICS*, as well as of his country, lays down the following principles as the true sources of national wealth: “The earth and the waters are the sources from which all true riches are produced. The maintenance, enjoyments, and even in a measure the superfluities of life, are, properly speaking, *real riches*. But the earth and the waters would be unproductive without *labor*; therefore the *labor of tillage* is the first, and the *labor of manufactures* the second means of acquiring national and individual wealth.”

Adam Smith, who wrote on the subject of national wealth, with so much merited celebrity, opens his valuable work, with this fundamental principle;—“The annual *labor* of every nation, is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life, which it annually consumes, and which consist always either in the immediate produce of that *labor*, or in *what is purchased with* that produce from other nations.”

It would be superfluous to refer to any other authorities, in support of principles that require only to be stated to be understood—principles, which being universally admitted, even by those who are themselves above the *dull pursuits of mechanical labor*, declare at the same instant the self-respect which every *mechanic* should feel, as forming part of that great basis upon which society is erected, and without which society could not exist in a social and happy order. The acknowledged principle also must be taken in another point of view, as it relates to the propensity of the *idle*, the *imbecile*, and the *profligate* speculator to treat with affected contempt those classes of *men—mechanics and farmers*, to whose virtue and toil those excrescences of society owe their very existence.

Many men are almost stupified by the adoption of *foreign ideas*, and applying them to our *own condition*, with which they cannot enter into *association*. In countries whose governments are founded and maintained for the *gratification or aggrandizement of a few*, which is the real character of every government in Europe at this moment, under such governments, a hatred of the *dull pursuits of civil life* is a necessary consequence of the system. The rulers have an interest in degrading and ridiculing, and promoting distinctions, and exciting jealousies among the various classes of men who are *not above labor and usefulness*.

They have an interest in their ignorance, and in their poverty, as the means of perpetuating that ignorance; for if all minds

were well improved, that are not ignorant, the *mechanic* and the *farmer* might discover that they were the strength and the base of society; and without which, the *privileged orders* could not be released from the dull pursuits of civil life.

The reflecting man must often be astonished, at the supercilious insolence of *idlers* and *speculators*, in a society of freemen, where all men are equally entitled to the protection of the laws, and to the honors, and trusts, and respect due to genius, talents, or established virtue.

The observing man must be surprised to find the same habits of contempt and asperity towards the *useful members* of society, constantly displayed by numbers, who either go into office on the shoulders of hypocrisy, or acquire the wealth which pampers their insolence, by means which virtuous men would disdain to truckle to.

There is more of unconscious *imitation*, and the effect of *habit*, and of the association of foreign ideas to things totally dissimilar in these things, than of vice or criminality. But the evils consist in this, that while it is prevalent, or not scouted, or not resisted, it enjoys a kind of *tolerance* that is construed into an express sanction; while those who either do not, or cannot, or will not think on the subject, act as if this unnatural state of society were natural; and that our national *written institutions* were only masks for cheating the million, and that the actual state of society were intended as a satire on the principles of our government.

In the next and subsequent numbers we shall go into an illustration, by specific examples, of the principles here suggested—and apply them to the circumstances of the public, the exemplification of facts, and accompany them by such illustrations as the subject, naturally exuberant, presents to the mind in the progress of rumination.

No. II.

OUR introductory number was intended to define the subject as it relates to our country—to lead the American reader out of the mazes and perplexities of disanalogous ideas—from habitual, and therefore, unsuspected errors, to a fair view of the actual station of the people who constitute the vital *spirit*, and the *body* of this nation. This number shall be devoted to a further illustration of errors and absurdities—by a contrast of foreign perversion of simple ideas for wicked purposes, with the habitual adoption of those perversions among us, and their reception without examination as *orthodox*, though repugnant to propriety and common sense.

Edmund Burke, and Dr. Samuel Johnson, are favorite authorities with men above the dull pursuits of civil life.

Would any member of any Christian church accept the *Koran* of Mahomed as the gospel?

Would any man pretend to say that killing in cold blood was not murder?

Would any man say, who wished to preserve an ordinary reputation for veracity—that a nation goaded by taxes, by the poverty of *millions*, and the extravagance of a few hundreds, while those millions are starving—is the consummation of a *perfect, pure, benevolent, wise, salutary, safe and sound* frame of social institution?

Yet such paradoxes have been pursued—and the christian religion preaches “peace and good will among men;” what do the christian nations practise—the law of the *koran*—the law of Edmund Burke and Mahomed—*bellum ad internicionem*—a war of extermination.

Dr. Johnson wrote a pamphlet to prove that killing was not murder; and we find in the 31st year of the republic, against which *Johnson* wrote his *pious work*, that perfidiously murdering after provoking to murder—was declared in the very seat of the *sainted pilgrims*, to be innocent and guiltless homicide.

Let us not deviate too far from our subject—the name of Dr. *Johnson* has been extolled beyond rational and cool belief—but it was a *fashion*—and the fashion of courts is what accommodates them.

Dr. Johnson was an Englishman; he compiled a dictionary of what he called the language of England, which has been re-printed in Philadelphia, and is the authority to which the “*warm federalists*” and British agents resort to for the *meaning of words*; he has given some *strange meanings* for many words; and it is necessary to guard against those meanings, because they are not applicable to the state of society in the United States—nor to the actual and real import of many of them in their fair sense.

That dictionary is no more calculated for the *free* clime of America than the free principles of the American government would suit the ensanguined atmosphere of Algiers.

The meaning of many words in Johnson will do well enough in Britain; but it must be kept in mind, that Johnson compiled his dictionary in poverty, and revised and altered the very meaning of the language, under the influence of a pension.—*Americans*, judge you, if it is calculated for 1776.

But let us just give the reader some idea of this doctor Johnson; the *mechanics*, as well as the farmers, will then be better able to value the meaning of words in the court dictionary.

Doctor Johnson was first brought into notice during the war of our revolution, by his inveteracy and rancorous enmity against every class of persons who maintained the doctrines of what was called *whigism* in England, who did not frequent the established church of England, *pay tithes*, and support bishops, and hold the doctrines of passive obedience to the lords anointed—and his constant fulmination against the *American rebels*, was his passport to court favor and a pension.

Though *Johnson* could write “when he set doggedly about it,” he could not *speechify*; notwithstanding which it was contemplated in spite of *nature itself*, for nature had forbidden Johnson from

being a *speaker*, to introduce him into *parliament*, purposely that he might by vociferation in parliament against the "*American rebels*," reiterate his fulminations from the press;—but, however, it did not take place.

Johnson, our vital religionists say, was nevertheless a good man—nay, he was a *great, good* man, a man of *humanity*.

The following are specimens of his piety and humanity.

Some men of feeling in Britain were once deploring in Johnson's presence the miseries of the *Jersey prison ships*, the cruelties practised at *Wilkesbarre*, *Wyoming*, and *Paoli*, and in general, the sufferings of the inhabitants of the United States, by the burnings at Fairfield, New London, Esopus, &c.

This *great* and *good* man interrupted them—"Sir, let me tell you that these are but *whippings like children*—I would have set fire to, and burnt every town; nay, every house on their coast—and roasted the rebels, men, women and children in the flames, for their rebellion." *Amiable moralist!!!*

Jersey prison ships, Wilkesbarre, Wyoming, Paoli,—only whippings!!!

Dr. Johnson was a *good* man—they yet say.

Did you ever read his dictionary?

You have now a specimen of his morals and politics—let us see him as an oracle of lexicography.

Mechanics and farmers, read this with attention.

Words, and their meanings, in Johnson's dictionary:

A FARMER—One who *cultivates* the land.

CULTIVATOR—One who *improves*.

COUNTRYMAN—A *rustic*—one who *inhabits the country*, not a townsman—a *farmer*—a *husbandman*.

HUSBANDMAN—One who works in *tillage*.

TILLAGE—The art of *ploughing*.

PLOUGHMAN—A *gross, ignorant rustic*!

RUSTIC—One that *lives in the country*—a boor—*rude, savage—brutal, untaught, a clown*.

CLOWN—*Rustics—coarse, ill bred men—brutes*.

Farmers, what think you of these concluding definitions? Do they fit? Are they not better calculated for Britain than America? Mechanics, read this with attention.

LABORER—One *employed in coarse work*.

ARTISAN—A *manufacturer, a low tradesman*.

MECHANIC,

HANDICRAFTSMAN,

TRADESMAN,

MANUFACTURER,

} *Mean, servile—of mean occupation—a manufacturer is a low workman.*

PEOPLE—A nation, the *VULGAR*, the commonalty—not the princes or nobles.

VULGAR—*Plebian, common people*.

PLEBIAN—*The lower ranks of people*.

GENTRY—*A class of people above the vulgar*.

GENTLEMAN—*A man of birth, a man of extraction, a man raised above the vulgar*.

What a pity Dr. Johnson, or Dr. Johnson's ghost, had not just condescended to step on earth, and inform us what he means by a *man of extraction*: we have heard of an *extracted tooth*, or an *extract* from a book or a letter—but an *extracted man* is much too profound for our comprehension.

But stop a moment.

Here it is in *Burr's dictionary*.

Burr and *Johnson's* dictionaries smell strong of *St. James's*.

Burr's works—*Men above the dull pursuits of civil life:*

Hosts of choice spirits:

Corps of worthies:

Lives, honor and fortunes of hundreds of the BEST

BLOOD of our country.

Hundreds of the *best blood* of our country!!—Good God!

Let us see what *Johnson* says of *BLOOD*.

BLOOD—*Birth, high extraction, men above the vulgar.*

If we were to inquire for a person of *good* or *bad* birth—we should look to the accoucheur—but we could see something to pity in one case, and something to be pleased at in the other—but we could not discover any merit in the accident.

Here is a true definition of all *Burr's* adherents.

Well born, all of them—here they are!

Farmers and *mechanics*, what think you of these meanings? To shew that they are *not yet* proper meanings for these words in America, however they may apply to Britain—it is necessary only to mention a few words, and the truth will arrest every mind.

Johnson's dictionary has—

CHRISTIANS—Professing the religion of Christ.

Take a Mahomedan dictionary—and it is—

CHRISTIANS—Infidel dogs, infidel dogs to be exterminated by the swords of true believers.

Now, the Mahomedan definition of the word *Christian* would be just as proper for the latitude of Britain, as is *Johnson's* definition of the words we have mentioned, for the latitude of the seventeen United States.

Johnson's definition of *vulgar*, and *common* people, and *low tradesmen*—takes in

Fishermen and sailors,

Carpenters and tailors,

Porters and draymen,

Laborers in husbandry, and otherwise.

And, in fact, all but (as he describes it) *princes* or *nobles*.

Here then be it known, that you American people are all *vulgar*—for you have neither nobles nor princes.

We have asserted often, that the "*warmly federal*"—we thank Mr. *Barclay* for the title—for we shall always, when saying "*warmly federal*"—mean something more than *common federal*—and the *British* hold a most contemptible idea, in speech, of these classes *Johnson* has enumerated,—and is it to be wondered at?

These are the common meaning of these words in Britain; nay, they are more, they are the reality of the words, and the poor *farmers* and *mechanics* feel it to their cost.

Many British, in emigrating here, bring these absurd ideas with them, and our *warm federalists* here teach their children the same ideas from this *British courtier's dictionary*. From this the contempt of these men of *EXTRACTION*! Men of *extraction*!—mercy on us, if only some of us would look back, or go into their garrets and look around for the scite of *humble hovels*—but they would not be a whit the better, and we must even take them, and laugh at their folly, as they are.

To whom is Britain indebted for her high rank in society, for her trade, her manufactures, her ship building?

Arkwright—who was the great *Arkwright*, that invented the cotton machinery, which has quadrupled the powers of industry in England, and substituted the fruits of his genius for the dilapidations of the *best blood* of Britain? An humble honest *barber*.

Britain owes all her greatness to her mechanics.

And yet, mechanics are *low tradesmen*—the vulgar.

Who was *Watt*—and who *Wedgwood*—and who *Boulton*?—Mechanics! Their history is a science, and their science will survive the nation which it might have preserved.

Was it for this that the blood of Americans flowed for 7 years?

To be reduced to this state, as described by Johnson. *Farmers* and *mechanics*, always count your numbers, keep the numbers registered in each of your minds, and where will then be your oppressors?

What are the numbers of the *best blood*?—Ask the surgeon barbers.

Men of birth—where are they? Ask the midwives.

What is the *people*?—look at the census—and there it is that we can approach and understand—it requires no doctor Johnson to explain that—and we give the president's late message as an illustration of the power and the security of a free and virtuous people—the victories of *Austerlitz* and *Jena* fade before the triumph of a popular government, and a wise executive, over treason and conspiracy.

The energies of the people in the Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee states, prove that *much* of a standing army is not wanted.

What were *Burr's ideas* of a standing army, and a standing navy?

These declarations speak pretty loudly—but see the illustration. The *vulgar*—the *people*—will be always ready to defend their liberties against those *men of extraction*, those *men of birth*—and best blood—those men above the dull pursuits of civil life.

Let the state legislatures but properly provide arms, and put them in the hands of every citizen—and there will be no danger, neither from foreign nor domestic traitors, leagued with foreigners.

But, *men of America*, the press must be free also—or you perish.

This is the greatest dread of tyrants,—dreaded worse than bayonets, or balls, or infernal machines.

What says judge Workman, of Orleans?

“The republican who possessed power, and did not employ it to establish a despotism, was a fool.”

Farmers and *mechanics*, did you ever read the quondam judge *McKean's* last speech to the legislature of Pennsylvania?

Did that speech, respecting the press, savor of liberty or despotism?

"*Establish a despotism,*" says Workman.

"*Let the grand jury*" present, and the judges suspend the presses, says M'Kean. Two lines may run parallel to endless space, and never touch—but they must not be crooked lines.

What slaves the *mechanics* are in Britain, we will shew you, as a warning, in our next number.



No. III.

SEND for a bleeder!

Mechanics and *farmers*, hold out your arms.

Don Yrujo, hold out *your* arm.

Let Mr. Buckram, who has no *pretensions*, hold the basons.

Shut your eyes and change the basons—which is the purest? Now doctor, whose is this or that *blood*, look here and tell us the difference.

Why the *blood* which is the *least diseased*!

Well then, if the God of nature has not created any other difference in the blood that fills our veins—what shall we say to it?

Mechanics and *farmers*, suffer no other vain or artificial difference or distinction to be set up—genius and virtue are not hereditary.

Yrujo is a Spanish Marquis, a Castilian, of high birth—*extraction*—BLOOD. Yet we see this high blood is as capable of *low* shuffling tricks, as the boy that blacks his boots.

For what was it that your forefathers fought—the high blood and extraction of Britain?

Was it to generate other high blood in America? No. It was to establish the *rights of man*.

Had *birth, blood, extraction*, been the object, Britain could have found plenty at home.

Hear what Cobbett says:

Supporting the *king, queen, and maiden princesses* (bless the mark!)—costs the mechanics and farmers of Britain—591,749 pounds sterling per annum—or 2,629,959 dollars!!!

Exclusive of other perquisites of royalty which amount to nearly as much more.

Say four millions for the whole.

How are the other powerful branches of the hopeful and chaste family of Hanover provided for—and the *sons*, and their bloods of *bastards*.

Duke of York,	26,000	pounds sterling
Dutches of York,	4,000	do
Duke of Clarence,	14,500	do
Duke of Kent,	12,000	do
Duke of Cumberland,	4,000	do

Duke of Sussex,	12,000 pounds sterling.
Duke of Cambridge,	16,000 do
Prince of Wales,	120,000 do
Princess Charlotte of Wales,	6,000 do

And last year, 1806—further allowances.

Dutchess of York,	1,333 pounds sterling.
Duke of Clarence,	4,000 do
Duke of Kent,	4,000 do
Duke of Cumberland,	4,000 do
Duke of Sussex,	4,000 do
Duke of Cambridge,	4,000 do

235,833

Near 1,200,000 dollars!!!

Exclusive of pay and other perquisites, such as admirals who do not go to sea—of field marshals, who never gained a battle—and of colonels of regiments, who never saw a shot fired in anger, from which they did not run away.

Their perquisites are, in amount, equal to the foregoing sum.

The royal king, queen, maiden princesses, have	4,000,000
The royal sons, and nephews, and wives,	2,500,000

\$ 6,500,000

Recollect this is exclusive of the pay of judges, ambassadors, &c. &c. &c. charged to the civil list.

This is all spent on *George III.* and his progeny!

There's *blood, birth and extraction—with a vengeance!*

The *poor rates* of England and Wales *alone* are, even now that bread is at a lower rate than for several years past—6,000,000 pounds sterling—near 30,000,000 of dollars!!

Here's *blood and birth, and extraction!* most amazing!

And these 30 millions are expended on this pampered and devouring race, while the poor *mechanics* and farmers of Britain are reduced to poverty—to support such a set of *vampires* and *harpies*.

“Every mechanic and labourer,” (says Cobbett) “having a family, is a pauper, and cannot possibly get even victuals to sustain ‘life.’”

The *duke of Richmond*, a descendant from a bastard of Charles II. has £25,000 sterling a year—120,000 dollars—from a tax on coals brought into the port of London—and without any *merit on the score of service*, but being above the dull pursuits of civil life.

By the bye, the same Charles gave the now *bastard* constitution which *Connecticut* now *prides* herself on—is not the *fruit* such as the tree?

Bastard liberty, and *bastard charity*.

So exactly would it be with the *mechanics* and *farmers* of America, if they could ever think of submitting to holes for nobility, or to consider *mechanics* and *clodhoppers* as terms conveying justifiable reproach or dishonor.

Had blood, birth, extraction been wanted, Britain could have supplied rivers of them.

But no, the revolution of America was to establish the privileges of human nature on the true basis of christianity.

The widow's mite was of as much value as all the riches of the wealthy man.

The single lamb of the poor shepherd was of as much value as the flocks of the monopolist.

Did the American revolution ever intend that because a man had not riches he was to be deprived of liberty also.

That the rich man was to be his keeper.

No, rather to establish in this new and favored world a new system different from the systems of the old.

And if a *mechanic* and *farmer* had no riches, then for *that very reason he should not be deprived of liberty, and by being free to acquire and to preserve his acquisitions, he should support and enjoy liberty.*

To enjoy the right of *suffrage.*

Mechanics, farmers, support the liberty of the press,—

And you will forever enjoy your rights.

Once lend an hand to assist *tyrants* in their *speeches* against the liberty of the press,—

And that moment, some *Burr*, or some *Workman* will enslave you, as the *mechanics* and *farmers* of Britain are now registered.

“Men above the dull pursuits of civil life,” will make your tears, and the *tears of your hungry children*, the sweat of your brows—support their idleness—if ever you listen to those who would league as *Burr* has done to raise men of *blood, birth, extraction.*

The great lord Camden, when speaking on the American revolution, asserted that resistance to tyranny—

“Is to be justified by the laws of the land.”

If such were the ideas of Camden on British rights, how much more, how doubly more have Americans sanctified that law?

How much more is it the *law*, the birth right of Americans?

When did Americans resist?

Why, when the rulers of Britain, the cabinet of St. James's, passed laws to deprive them of their liberty.

Then it was that Americans resisted.

And if legislatures, or congresses, or governors, were in America to pass laws, entrenching on the liberty of the citizen, *because he had not riches—*

Then would resistance be lawful.

The *warm federal papers*, the *British agents*, and *spies*, are continually ridiculing the congress and legislatures of America.

This man, is *nothing* but a *farmer.*

This man is nothing but a *mechanic.*

That man is nothing but a *manufacturer.*

The *quid papers* last year were full of the most infamous detraction.

Snyder was a *farmer*, a *tanner*, a *mechanic.*

As Jefferson said, in his inaugural speech, “has heaven sent angels in the shape of kings to govern mankind?”

Let the present state of Europe answer—so we say—John Adams's standing army was intended to reduce you to slaves—hence the line of battle ships, eight per cent. loans, increase of funded debt, fortifications, privileged orders—and internal taxes and *excise*.

A proof that “*warm federalism*” partook, like the *angels* of Europe, in the shape of kings, of the views and designs which led to such recommendations for government.

Mechanics and *farmers*—*Britain* by the list of taxes, which we have shewn to you in former papers, and the effects in this number, has lost a footing, which she would have engaged but for the revolution—to have entailed equal blessings on you—for this reason it was that *Cobbet* was employed—that *Cullen* is now employed—that almost all the papers in our sea ports are directly or indirectly in *British* pay.

Britain seeks the destruction of America, from revenge.

British merchants bring over *British meanings* to words, they attempt to engraft them on those *Americans*, who are disposed to lord it over their fellow citizens.

But will you suffer it?

Once more, you, gentlemen—and once more, you, who are not gentlemen, but clodhoppers, look at those basons—here is No. I.—whose blood is this with the *green and yellow coagulum*? what a *pestiferous* scent—it is a cluster of nodes and foul and filthy juices—*paugh!*

Look at the other bason—No. II.—clear, transparent as the ruby, a gelid ichor surrounds it, and it floats in an element emblematic of its purity—the eye is not offended nor is the nose averted from it.

Which is which?

Speak physician!—

The physician is silent—but by his eye you may guess his meaning—he has been just prescribing *mercury* for No. I.—and his eye seems to say, we must not expose those by whom we live.

The physician speaks plain enough for mechanics—whose physic is rational labor, temperance and domestic love.

No. IV.

INTELLIGENT writers on political economy, or the principles of national wealth, have demonstrated, that the English government could not have sustained the burthen of its immense debts and enormous expenditures for thirty years past, had not MECHANICAL GENIUS and INDUSTRY devised means by which the labor of man could be multiplied to an incredible extent. This assertion is, indeed, demonstrable, by well established facts, in the application of MACHINERY to the arts of the worker in iron, in wood, in cotton, in flax, in short, in every branch of *art and manufacture*. Indeed, lord *Lauderdale*, a very able and ingenious writer, has been led so far into admiration of *machinery*, by its effects, as

to consider machinery as a *new* principle of national wealth, and separate from the principle of labor. The mistake is, however, very palpable on a consideration that *machinery* is itself a production of labor, and of mechanical rules of art; and that, even in its most perfect state, labor is necessary to its operation, as well to contrive and make, as to keep in order and put it in motion. Upon the same principle, the iron spade or hoe, would be considered as coming under a different principle from the wooden or the clumsy stone instruments of a rude state of society.

The use of these remarks is, to shew that in monarchies, in oligarchies, or in aristocracies, those who are the *main strength* of the nation are always depreciated, and, as much as can be done, degraded. A very distinguished federal character, once a senator of the United States, said, the working people should be allowed so little for their labor as to reduce them to subsist on "*potatoes and herrings*;" and in 1797, 1798 and 1799 *mechanics* were proscribed and refused employment, who dared to hold a republican opinion. Some of the men proscribed in those days have, however, truckled and become the instruments of a factious aristocracy; and, by their blind and base desertion of principle, afforded too much encouragement for those who wished to make the mechanics as abject slaves as they are in other countries.

We set out in this series of papers, with the purpose of exposing errors and mistakes of a dangerous tendency to the nation. The example of England in the case of her *mechanics*, is, perhaps, as stupendous a monument of *national slavery* as has existed from the earliest epocha of time. The *mechanics* of America will remember, that what is called the *mercantile interest* holds the all controlling and all subduing influence of that nation. That *speculation* has enslaved *industry*.

By an act passed in the British parliament, only in the last year, every *laborer, artisan, tradesman, mechanic and manufacturer*, who earns by *daily or weekly* wages, by himself, his wife, or *his children under age*—4 dollars and 30 cents per week—*shall pay on oath*—for the support of that government and its *royal family*—5 per cent. from the sweat of his brow.

Five dollars out of every 100—or *five cents* out of *every dollar*.

And this without any deduction for his extra expenses, of sickness, or the various other incidental expenses of human life!

Suppose he does not earn this mighty sum of 4 dollars and 30 cents per week—(and there are hundreds and hundreds of thousands who do not) what then?—Why then, American mechanics, hear and remember it, and remember the case of the *shoemakers*—

He is registered as a SLAVE!

Let no falsifier or deceiver impose a doubt upon you as to the solemn truth of what we here state—no man of the least profession to honesty will attempt it, because it is solemnly registered in the law of England—we copy it from an authentic book—Kearsley's tax tables for 1806—second edition—appendix, page 189, rule XVII—section 4.

"Labourers, artisans, handicraftsmen or tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, for daily or weekly wages—shall, in order to

be exempted from payment of the duties, produce to the commissioners a declaration signed by himself, with a certificate annexed to it by the *master* or employer in the following form :

‘ I, A. B. do declare, that I exercise and follow the employment of a laborer in husbandry—or other work—[naming it]—or artisan, handicraftsman or mechanic in the trade of [naming it] for *daily* or *weekly* wages ; that I have not received in any one week within the year preceding, for my work or labor, any sum exceeding [name the sum] except in employment in husbandry in time of harvest, and that within the time above mentioned I have worked for — of — and that I have not received within the preceding year, any sum or sums of money from any source other than labor as aforesaid. So help me God.’

MASTER'S CERTIFICATE.

‘ I, — of — hereby certify, that the above signed was in my employ as a — for — within the year preceding, and that the wages paid by me did not exceed the rate above mentioned, and to the best of my belief, the matters contained in the above declaration are true as far as the same are within my knowledge. So help me God.’

The intent of these *certificates* is, that no *mechanic* shall dare to move a mile without the consent of the government, that they may know where to meet with him when wanted, to be sent to perish in the West Indies by the yellow fever, in fighting the *mercantile* battles of *West India nabobs*.

Here, American mechanics, is a specimen of the effects of the most stupendous fabric of human wisdom—of the checks and balances, privileged orders, nobility holes, and order and regular government.

But the *mechanics* of Britain need not starve, said Dundas ; there is the army and navy, for *them*—and *work house* for their wives and children !!!

In the English house of lords, in 1793, it was stated in debate, that one magistrate had attested, as soldiers, 12,000 mechanics, all of whose families were left behind ; another lord said that a single magistrate in one town of Lancashire had attested 23,000 in one year.

What has been the reason why the abolitionists in Britain could not get forward with the abolition of the *black slave* trade in England ?

Wilberforce uniformly supported *Pitt*, in every measure which enslaved the mechanics and others in England.

Well, after making a long speech, respecting the miseries of the blacks in the West Indies—

Some *shrewd* advocate for slavery answers him with this *knock down* answer—

The slaves in the West Indies are better clothed, and better fed, than the poor, and the mechanics, and the laborers in Britain.

Again, *Wilberforce* complains of the stowage in the middle passage. What's the answer given ? Pray, Mr. *Wilberforce*, do just step out of the house into the work house in your own parish—

not *two minutes* walk—you will there see—closer packing of poor Englishmen and women than of negroes in the middle passage.

Wilberforce is dumb. *Vital religion* is put in a state of *suspended animation*.

Every mechanic and laborer, says *Cobbett*, is a *pauper*—and COBBETT speaks truth.

One million of the unhappy population of Britain are perishing in the work-houses, or famishing out of them—for every man who earns 430 cents must pay one fifth to the tax gatherer !

This is *John Adams's* stupendous monument of human wisdom.

This all comes from men of *birth* and *extraction*.

This all comes from *taxes, taxes*—These are among the glorious consequences of *constitutional fortifications, navies* !

This comes from unnecessary standing armies !

This comes from the *mechanic*, the *manufacturer*, or the *laborer*, being so stupified as to suffer himself to be trodden upon, and to believe that any *man is better than himself who is not more virtuous*.

This comes from giving way to *birth* and *extraction*.

Pray, which is of most consequence in society, the *farmer*, or the *mechanic*, or the *sailor*, or ship builder, who can turn to and earn their *mush* any hour of the day ;

Or the *man* who takes the room and place of a female ; and, whilst measuring out ribbons, or laces, or counting needles or pins, or sells these productions of industry by the invoice, or parcel, exclaims,

“ They are *nothing* but mere *mechanics* ! ”

At the close of the election before last, in this city, of the brotherhood, many of those *men of a good birth* and extraordinary *extraction*—were in high spirits ; they did not hesitate to assert openly, to this effect—“ now we will manage those *porters*, and *draymen*, “ and the *mechanics*—those men *earn too much*—if they did not earn “ half as much it would be the better for us.”

Mechanics, this is fact—and the case of the shoemakers is only another proof of the tendency of *lazy luxury* to enslave the men of industry who acquire their bread by labor.

“ We will take care to regulate the votings at the ensuing legislature,” exclaimed another.

“ They do not vote nor receive half the pay in England that mechanics do here,” says a raw imported British emigrant—just landed, with his *knob* full of self-sufficiency and contempt for all the world.

“ No, nor shall they have it here either long,” says a “ *tory* ” and “ *warm federalist* .”

Farmers, mechanics, laborers, all classes take care—suffer no man to trench on your right, your privilege of voting.

Two pence a pound on tea was the spring that set this new world in motion—but there are villainies practised every day ten thousand degrees more dangerous, and equally iniquitous. If you once give way, it is all over with you.

The laborers in husbandry in Britain are as much *sold*, and as substantially *slaves* to the soil of their despots, as the population of Russia—If they earn more than 430 cents a week, five per cent.

must go to the government; and if they wish to emigrate and go where they can earn more, the law forbids it, and they are liable to imprisonment for attempting to be more happy!

Burr's conspiracy gives to you a warning. "We are men above the dull pursuits of civil life," said Burr to Eaton.

And how were those men of "birth and extraction" to be supported? Why, Judge *Workman* tells you—"Establish a despotism."

That is, make the *farmers* and *mechanics* toil for men above industry and labor, as they do in Britain.

Dr. Johnson's definition of words is the criterion of *most* Englishmen—although there are some Englishmen who are as true to the principles of the revolution as if they had bled in the cause—but we speak of the general predominant sentiment and feeling of those who adhere to the tottering fabric.

What are the toasts and sentiments of the sons of St. George?

What are their private toasts at their tavern suppers?

The federalists! many of them, we do not mean the "*warm federalists*," call Burr a traitor.

But he could not have established a more horrid or despotic government than that of Britain.

Would he not have taken the *register* of this number as the ground work for judge *Workman's* despotism?

Then why do such men condemn Burr?

Or is it only the name?

Burr is not *George III.*

No man who is *hankering* after the British government, that stupendous monument of human wisdom, can consistently condemn Burr—or call him a traitor.

Farmers and *mechanics*, be always cautious when you hear an *adherent* of Britain calling Burr a traitor.

You see what was here intended for you.—You were to have been the *registered slaves* of men of *birth* and *extraction*—above the dull pursuits of civil life—or, as Mr. Barclay would have it, "*warmly federal*."

Burr's plans are foiled—be you then on the watch—watch your privileges—guard against men who would wean you from your free institutions.

Watch every encroachment on the price of your labor.

Tell them you are entitled to independence as well as themselves.

Ask, in *your minds*, who are they in America, with so many hundreds of millions of acres of lands, that can best do without *each other*—*farmers* and *mechanics*—or *merchants*?

Watch every attempt to contract your privilege of *election*—for it *was intended*. McKean has not only undertaken to set the will of the majority at naught, but to appoint a *commission* of his own creatures to set aside the *majority of your suffrages*!

Burr, *Workman*, and the daily speeches you hear, give you notice—the farmers of the west, by their breath on a signal from the executive have annihilated a daring treason.

If you once give but the least way or opening to men without any more, and often not equal merit, who affect to be your superiors, *step by step*, you will be completely enslaved.

No. V.

THIS number will be a brief abstract of the *effects* of that government whence so many of our misfortunes are derived, by the blind and servile adherence to their institutions in *law, policy* and *commerce*. It is by their fruits you shall know them, says the proverb. What is the only source and virtuous purpose of society? Is it not the happiness of all, or the greatest portion of the individuals that constitute the society? By their fruits you shall know them.

From the Norman conquest in 1066, to this year, 1807, a space of 741 years, (and the war is not yet ended) England has been involved in the following wars:

Civil wars, for the choice of tyrants,	7
With Scotland, for conquest,	11
With Ireland, for conquest,	19
With France, for conquest and power,	24
With Spain, for power and plunder,	9
With Denmark, for power,	2
With Holland, for commerce, plunder, and for dependence,	4
With Prussia, for Hanover,	2
With Sweden, for Bremen and Verden,	1
With America, for enslavement,	1
With Austria, insidious and secret in 1807, in Belgium,	1
With Algiers,	1
—Wars, 82	

In which period there have been the following intervals of peace
—22—8—6—8—19—27—4—5—8—21—15—10—8—15—1—3
—2—6—20—13—6—1—1—15—5—5—28—8—12—9—1—mak-
ing in the whole period—

Of war, 428 years—Of peace, 313—Total, 741 years.

Of the lives lost; The misery created; The wives widowed; The orphans made; The aged starved; The towns and countries desolated;—The powers of calculation and imagination combined can form no accurate nor adequate conception.

The money spent, and the debts created, are ascertainable—but what is wealth?—What are the gaudy trappings, and the frippery of luxurious idleness, put into competition with that serene security and comfort—that domestic bliss, that solace of all solaces, which surround the peaceful fireside of the American farmer—and to which all other nations are comparatively strangers. Americans, guard against foreign influence—be content with your own resources of happiness—and be it your daily study to guard against those systems of policy and law which have been productive of so much misery to the world.

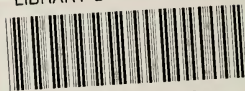
THE END.





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